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Eras of the Christian Church

Edited by

John Fulton, D.D., LL.D.

The Apostolic Age

Vernon Bartlet, M.A.

This map is reproduced from Fisher's "History of the Christian Church." The author of "The Apostolic Age," however, places S. Paul's Galatian churches in South, not in North Galatia.

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Eras of the Christian Church

THE APOSTOLIC AGE

ITS LIFE, DOCTRINE, WORSHIP AND POLITY

BY

JAMES VERNON BARTLET, M.A.

SOMETIME SCHOLAR OF EXETER COLLEGE AND SENIOR UNIVERSITY GREEK TESTAMENT PRIZEMAN; LECTURER ON CHURCH HISTORY IN MANSFIELD COLLEGE, OXFORD

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TO MY PARENTS

MY FIRST TEACHERS IN RELIGION

TO Drs. A. M. FAIRBAIRN AND W. SANDAY

MY EARLIEST MASTERS IN THEOLOGY

PREFACE.

THE late appearance of this volume in the series to which it belongs, calls for a word of explanation. It is scarcely two years since the death of Bishop A. C. Coxe, of Western New York, who had already put his hand to the work, led to the task being transferred to the present writer. Under these circumstances he hopes that the original subscribers will not grudge the time taken in carrying through, amid other duties, the needful studies and reducing the results to something like unity.

How far this volume may deserve its place in "a series of popular monographs," its author is hardly able to judge. But he has at any rate tried to avoid abstract or artificial grouping, and to describe the concrete life of the Apostolic Age as it manifested itself, now here, now there, at the points of greatest activity. In this way the emphasis and perspective of the facts, whether of the Church's "constitution, fundamental polity, doctrine, worship, or social and spiritual life," seem to have the best chance of telling on the mind directly and in their own right. Only in three chapters at the end has a formal attempt been made to systematize some of the facts already presented, for the most part, in their own proper contexts.

For the purposes of the present series the "Apostolic Age" is taken as ending only with the close of the first century. It covers, that is, two full generations of the Church's opening life; during which, as it is believed, one apostle at least, John the son of Zebedee, perpetuated the memories of the original circle of the Founder's disciples. Here already there is a blending of "Apostolic" and "sub-Apostolic" Christianity—to use the terms in their more limited senses—and a corresponding overlapping of canonical and non-canonical Christian literature. In the text, which may generally be read with only quite occasional use of footnotes (added mainly for the sake of the studious), the author has aimed at writing pure history, without staying to point any far-reaching moral. But a preface is perhaps a fit place in which to throw out a few hints to those unfamiliar with the problems involved in a history of the Apostolic Age.

The historian has to mediate between the mind of his own age and the facts of past ages. This task is the harder, yet the more needful, in proportion as the facts are themselves of the mental order. For such must be seen first and foremost through the souls of the men and women in whom they once lived, if they are to be other than the mirage of our own latter-day consciousness. The historian of the Apostolic Age, then, has to make live again to the reader's imagination the complex world of thought and action to which primitive Christian experience —even where most under the renovating sway of the New Message—was largely relative. As surely as

the men of that age looked on the universe in the light of the Ptolemaic or geocentric system, so surely did they view life all round by the aid of intellectual forms often correspondingly diverse from ours. Here lies the main difficulty for the reader of the New Testament. He is ever coming upon phrases that do not really appeal to him, ideas that he cannot personally assimilate, however deeply in sympathy he may be with the general spirit of the whole or even of the special passage in question. His embarrassment is just the same as an early Christian would experience, if confronted with a mediæval or modern book on religion. The background taken for granted, because part of the culture of the age, is in each case unrealized: the larger context is lacking. It is this which the historian has to supply. He has, in a word, to make himself and his fellows the intellectual contemporaries of the men of his story. In the end, nothing should seem strange or pointless. In this light our Introductory chapter is the most necessary of all. Its chief defect is not its length, but rather its inadequacy to the function of making the reader contemporary with Peter, Paul, Apollos, John—acquainted with all the social, moral, and intellectual conditions of Judaism in and beyond Palestine, and with life in the great centres of the Empire. It is hoped, however, that the effect of it may be felt in the enhanced actuality and point of much that follows.

A master of the subject[1] reckons as our chief

[1] Harnack, "Research in early Church History," *Contemporary Review*, Aug. 1886.

recent gain in early Church history, the fact that we have become "richer in historical points of view." He cites as a palmary instance the perception—so fatal to one famous account of the Catholicism of the second century, as a compromise between Judæo-Christian and Pauline tendencies—that Paul's special mode of thought never laid hold of Gentile Christians as a class: that, in fact, their Christianity was from the first continuous rather with a prior type of monotheistic religion, midway between the more liberal Judaism outside Palestine and the better Græco-Roman sentiment on Providence and on morality as essential worship. The same scholar also alludes to our growing sense of the many and varied religious types embraced within Judaism itself. On this latter idea I have been led to lay peculiar stress, as on one not even yet sufficiently applied to New Testament literature. Dr. Hort has extended it, with good results, to the errors described in the Pastoral Epistles. He may not there, or in the matter of the Colossian errors, have attained final results. But the tendency, namely to use all known Jewish types of thought to explain varieties emerging among the Christians, is a true one: and I have ventured to carry it further, in viewing the most primitive Judæo-Christian piety, notably that of the Epistle of James and the *Didaché*, as largely conditioned by nurture on the "Wisdom" literature of Judaism.

If the reader rises from the perusal of these pages with a fresh feeling for the diversity in unity characteristic of the Apostolic Age, he will, I believe, make

no mistake. The age was pre-dogmatic. It was swayed simply by a religious impression of the new and joyous vision of God as revealed in the Christ, and of Christ as Lord of the spiritual world and so the Son of God in a religious sense. Beyond this the common consciousness did not go. The essentially religious and vital quality of its faith is shown in the unembarrassed freedom with which, in different circles, it instinctively expressed itself in terms of its own prior mental training. "No man can (truly or religiously) say, 'Jesus is Lord,' save in virtue of (the) Holy Spirit": this was the common foundation, the Gentile equivalent of Peter's "Thou art the Christ." Thereafter, efforts to grasp intellectually the meaning of this vital and experimental conviction went on under varying conditions, with varying rapidity, and with results only partially known to us. For nearly all records, save what in this connection we may style the Christian Classics, the writings of the Apostles and those closely associated with them, have failed to survive: and of the few which do survive, only the *Didaché* seems unaffected by such Apostolic writings.

All the more striking, then, is the unity of spirit amid the diversity of thinking. "In things necessary unity, in things secondary liberty, in all things charity": if this be the abiding motto of a true Catholicity, then the Apostolic Age realized it to the full. And its necessary things were few, simple, but radical; reducible in the last resort to one—the heart's devoted faith in one Lord, as pledged in baptism and evinced in obedience of life. But that one

thing involved and carried with it all else needful for life and godliness. May the experience of the Apostolic Age, as it becomes better known not only in detail but also in its underlying conception of what Christian religion really is, yet prove the great *Eirenicon*, harmonizing the distinctions to which its partial rediscovery at the Reformation gave rise under the peculiar political and mental conditions of the sixteenth century.

My large indebtedness to many scholars of my own and other lands, beyond that hinted in text and footnotes, I here gladly acknowledge. Yet no effort has been spared to see the facts afresh with one's own eyes. Indeed I could wish that this had not led so often to the necessity of striking out rather an independent path on literary questions. But my hope is that, either in text or Literary Appendix, due notice of alternative views has always been given. Finally, my special thanks are due to my friend, A. S. Peake, M. A., late Fellow of Merton College, and now of Manchester, who under no slight stress of time perused my first proofs and made some valued suggestions.

VERNON BARTLET.

Oxford, June, 1899.

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INTRODUCTORY.

1. SCOPE, SOURCES, CHRONOLOGY.

THE "Apostolic Age" is generally taken to cover the period of some forty years between the Crucifixion and the destruction of the Temple. Within this falls not only the narrative contained in Acts, but also nearly all that we can reckon historic in what reaches us otherwise touching the original Apostles, those namely who were contemporaries of their Lord, Jesus Christ. In particular, these years embrace the whole course of the two chief founders of the actual Church of the first century, Peter, the Apostle of the Jews, and Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles. Yet, in spite of this and of the momentous change in men's thoughts as to the Kingdom of God wrought by the ruin of the Jewish State and temple-worship in 70 A. D., there is another and larger sense in which the "Apostolic Age" closes only with the end of the century, when the living voice of the last of Christ's personal disciples became silent among men by the decease of the Apostle John. Nor was he the sole survivor into the period between 70 and 100. For beside some traditional traces of a few of the Twelve as still at work, there survived others of the large body of personal disciples, reckoned at 120 in the earliest Jerusalem days (Acts i. 15). These,

by continuing in their own persons the original Apostolic traditions, continued also in a real sense the Apostolic Age. It is with this larger meaning, then, that we invest the phrase in what follows.

The scope of our subject being defined, we have yet to consider briefly the nature of the sources whence comes our knowledge of it. First and foremost, of course, in point of fulness, explicitness, and continuity, is the *Acts of the Apostles*, an ordered and highly finished historical composition, written on a definite plan and with definite aims, and so involving an interpretation of primitive Christianity. All agree that it is no bare chronicle, compiled without selective insertion or omission, and therefore without artistic perspective or emphasis. But is it a fundamentally true interpretation, or does its perspective distort the real history as it occurred? This is the crucial question for every student of the Apostolic Age: "what think you of Acts—is it genuine history or has idealism largely come between its author and the reality?" The answer to this depends mainly on our estimate of its relation to our second prime source of information, St. Paul's Epistles.

Since the time of Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*, with its principle of "undesigned coincidences," the Pauline Epistles have been used by exact scholars of all schools as the true criterion of historicity in Acts. For the special nature of these letters as personal, occasional, and utterly unstudied productions, addressed to limited groups of readers for purposes

remote from those of historical narrative, sets them above all suspicion of coloring the past for later ends; and at the same time guarantees the strictly contemporary character of the evidence incidentally afforded to such matters of fact as are alluded to in them. Thus in the critical construction and verification of historic Christianity—and that for the gospels as well as for the Acts—such Pauline Epistles as may at any time be admitted to be genuine must rank as the bed-rock whereon all securely rests. As letters "they reflect the mood of the time and the given circle with perfect vividness of light and shade, ere it fades into the neutral tints of a set narrative."[1] And hence they are a unique check upon the feelings, ideas, motives, interwoven with the narrative in the Acts. If it comes out of the test successfully, it is proved to be history in a sense in which few ancient records of the like sort—if indeed there be any involving equally subtle psychological situations—can aspire to the title. Whether it does so emerge victorious is a point which it would be unfitting here to prejudge. It may, however, be remarked on the threshold, that after considering the book in the light of highly adverse criticism, and having special regard both to the Pauline letters and to points of contact between Acts and its environment in classical antiquity, Professor W. M. Ramsay in his recent study of St. Paul places the author of Acts "among the historians of the first rank." By these he understands those few, who, like Thucydides, having "excellent means of knowledge, either through

[1] See article "Epistle," in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, p. 731 a.

personal acquaintance or through access to original authorities, bring to the treatment of their subject genius, literary skill, and sympathetic insight into human character and the movement of events. Such an author seizes the critical events, concentrates the reader's attention on them by giving them fuller treatment, touches more lightly and briefly on the less important events, omits entirely a mass of unimportant details, and makes his work an artistic and idealized picture of the progressive tendency of the period." [1] Here it will be seen that Ramsay admits idealization to be present in Acts only in the good sense of insight into the motives at work below the surface of the crude facts: and this conviction goes along with another as to the identity of the author, whom he regards as himself among those described by the first person plural in certain passages of the second part of the work, and as consequently one of Paul's companions. It is natural that, where the one conviction is not shared, its companion should also be discarded. Thus many, and among them Professor McGiffert in his recent work on the Apostolic Age (which sets by no means small store by the Acts), regard the so-called "we" passages as belonging only to a travel-narrative used along with other data by the author of Acts. He himself, on the other hand, belonging to the second rather than to the first generation of Christians, was unable to prevent certain conceptions proper to his own day (*c.* 80–90) from affecting his interpretation of the primitive facts, and so produces at times an inac-

[1] *St. Paul, the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, pp. 2 ff.

curate picture of the deeds and words of the parties concerned. Such are the two views.

Leaving, then, our decision between these alternatives to work itself out gradually through discussion of each point on its own merits, as it emerges, we continue the enumeration of our materials. And next one may name the *Apocalypse*, which, whatever its date and authorship in its present form, certainly contains passages reflecting the state of mind in some Christian circle not long after the final agony of the Jewish polity, and amid the persecutions rife under the Flavian dynasty (70–96). Most valuable too for the second generation are its messages to the Seven Churches. These may be supplemented by what is implied touching the state of various Churches in the so-called "Catholic" Epistles, though their evidence is far harder to use on account of uncertainties as to date, authorship, and the localities addressed.

Lastly, a class of evidence calls for notice which needs the most delicate handling, that of the Gospels themselves. Of course it is obvious that the Fourth Gospel has much to teach us about the state of Christian thought in the late decades of the first century. Indeed Chapter xx. 31, read along with 1 John iv. 2, virtually calls attention to a special purpose it was meant to serve. But since the Synoptic Gospels make no more claim than does the Johannine Gospel to be exhaustive narratives of the great Ministry, it is clear that selection among the facts, whether of word or deed, has here also been at work; and this selection throws back welcome light

upon the instinctive wants and ideals of the Apostolic Age. In this case, moreover, the selection involved is twofold. First, that working in the Church at large, causing it to prize and preserve in its oral instruction (*catechesis*) certain parts of the rich treasure of Apostolic recollections, while suffering oblivion to absorb much that we could have wished recorded, and which in fact has been partly preserved for us through the more subtle receptivity and long-brooding memory of one Apostle, him "whom Jesus loved." And next, that more local and personal selection which is involved in the distinctive features and special emphasis or appeal characteristic of each of the first three Gospels. All this, if used with due care, can tell us a good deal about the Apostolic Age through which these records were transmitted, first orally, then in smaller and simpler written units than those known to us, (cf. Luke i. 1–4, and, concretely, the sayings of Jesus in the Oxyrhynchus papyrus recently dug up), and finally in those comprehensive Gospels that by an intrinsic superiority survived and at last became canonical. But such indirect evidence can be read only by skilled eyes, and even then but tentatively.

Compared with these Biblical sources, and early patristic writings like the so-called "Apostolic Fathers," non-Christian literature yields but little direct result. Yet it is of indirect value, particularly as a means whereby the chronological data embedded in our sources proper may be checked and utilized for historical purposes. Of the writers who thus help us in one way or another, one may name Josephus,

born *c.* 37–38, whose *Jewish War* was written before 79, and his *Antiquities* completed *c.* 93–94; Tacitus, born *c.* 54, whose *Annals*, published *c.* 115, recount the history of the Empire from the death of Augustus to that of Nero: Pliny the elder and his nephew, the well-known writer of Epistles; Suetonius, who when private secretary to Hadrian wrote, *c.* 120, *Lives of the Cæsars* (Julius to Domitian); and finally Dion Cassius, author of a huge Roman history going down to 229. Of these Josephus is of course the most valuable, being well-informed on Palestinian matters both of fact and of thought, though he sometimes accommodated the latter to Roman tastes. Finally, in a class by himself and helping to explain certain aspects of Christian thought in the second generation in particular, we have Philo, the Alexandrine Judæo-Greek philosopher, who died about 45 A. D.

The chronology of the Apostolic Age has just been alluded to. It eludes anything like precision on our present data, in spite of fairly numerous synchronisms with Jewish or Roman history. Separate points will be dealt with as they occur. But it may be useful to keep in mind the following dates as being probable. They are for the most part those adopted by the most recent writers[1] on the subject.

[1] Mr. C. H. Turner, in the exhaustive article *Chronology of the New Testament* in Dr. Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible (T. & T. Clark), and Prof. B. W. Bacon of Yale. Dr. Ramsay adds one year, Bishop Lightfoot two years, to the dates after 47 A. D. Prof. McGiffert's reckoning, like Prof. Harnack's, places everything about two to three years earlier from the same date onward: he also places Paul's conversion about 31–32 A. D. The present writer, while unable to agree with the former of these positions, believes the latter very near the truth.

Those in italics, however, are preferred by the present writer for reasons to be explained.

	A. D.	
The Crucifixion	29	
Paul's Conversion	*31–32*	(Ramsay 33, Turner 35–36)
1st Visit to Jerusalem	*34–35*	(" 35–36, " 38)
[*Visit of Gal. ii.*	*44–46*]	
Famine Visit	46	(= Gal. ii., Ramsay)
1st Missionary Journey	47	
Jerusalem Conference, and 2d Miss. Journey	49	
Visit to Jerusalem, and 3d Miss. Journey	52	
Last visit to Jerusalem and Arrest	56	
Rome reached early in	59	
End of *Acts*	61	
Paul's Martyrdom	*61–62*	(Turner 64–65, Lightfoot 67)

2. THE OLD SOIL.

The modern Christian mind is so possessed by a sense of the world-wide issues of Christianity, that it needs real effort to picture to oneself the truth about the early days of the faith with which we feel ourselves to stand in unbroken continuity. Yet nothing is more certain than that Christianity first appeared in the guise of a reformation in a national religion, and was for a considerable time so viewed by the bulk of the people in whose bosom it arose. Accordingly, it is important to realize the broad features of Judaism, the national religion in question, at the era when the great reformation took place. A preliminary sketch of these must therefore be attempted, in order to save embarrassing the course of our narrative by piecemeal references at later stages. To attempt our task without submitting one's imagination to some such discipline, would be like trying to grasp

the distinctive forms assumed by the Reformation of the sixteenth century while in ignorance of the prior condition, religious, intellectual, social and political, of the Western peoples.

But before trying to realize the Jewish antecedents and environment of early Palestinian Christianity, attention is due to another aspect of the *Præparatio Evangelica*, to use Eusebius' fine phrase. Palestine was but an obscure, an insignificantly small, part of the great Roman world, the wider life of which must be kept steadily in view throughout the Apostolic Age. It is true that its full influence does not appear until the second and third centuries. And yet, when all has been said to avoid antedating such influence, the Empire and the myriad forms of life found within the unity of Roman administration, the "Roman Peace," must from the first have had a profound bearing on all save the most secluded Christian communities. So that we are only faithful to the facts, when we regard certain aspects of the Empire as part of that "fulness of the time" which conditioned God's sending forth of His Son, to lead men to a heavenly sonship. Certainly we are only true to the spirit of the great author of this phrase, in whose writings we may discern the first germs of a real philosophy of history—Paul of Tarsus, Roman citizen as well as pure born Jew. But this side of things has been so ably handled by Dr. W. M. Ramsay, notably in his *Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen*, and the theme so transcends the limits at our disposal, that it seems best to confine our remarks, here and now, to what is barely need-

ful to stimulate the reader's thoughts in this direction.

(*a*) *The Roman World.*

Broadly speaking, and with the important exception presented by the religious condition of the *Diaspora*, the Jews scattered outside their Holy Land, one may say that it was on its more external side that the Roman Empire at first affected Christianity. The wonderful unification of humanity, at least round the Mediterranean Sea, secured by the supremacy of Rome under the early emperors, was something hitherto unparalleled. The ease and security of transit, the network of commercial enterprise, the dissemination of news and of literature—multiplied at a great rate by skilled slave-labor, where one reader fed the energies of many scribes—in a word, the "modernness" of the prime conditions for a cosmopolitan civilization, is what strikes the student who gets a little below the surface of classical literature. Of recent years the *papyri* dug up in Egypt, along with contemporary inscriptions and coins, have made the first and the nineteenth centuries seem wonderfully alike. And when we add to the ancient picture the almost ubiquitous Greek language, the advantage seems to remain with the Roman world as a field for the spread of a missionary religion. Latin was, indeed, the language of official business: but Greek was the almost universal speech of daily life, not only throughout the lands once parts of the Empire of Alexander, but also in imperial Rome itself. Here at once we are

brought face to face with the fact, one of enormous historical and psychological interest, that our New Testament, the Scriptures of a religion Semitic in origin, is entirely in Greek.

The Greek in question was not the literary Greek familiar to classical scholars, but the speech of common life in and about the Eastern Mediterranean. This was the outcome, partly of the natural development of the language as spread by the conquests of Alexander, and partly of the reaction of the non-Greek thought upon the sense and form of words. A knowledge of such Greek has gradually been reaching us through the modern study of ancient inscriptions and of the *papyri* which the dry soil of Egypt has preserved for us. As a result, the best New Testament commentaries are in some respects getting out of date. Of yet more importance is the fact that we can now trace with our own eyes the process of vital selection by which Christian thought availed itself of the existing sacred usage of certain words, where this was not bound up with idolatry and paganism, while rejecting other words as too deeply tainted. We are thus coming to see the point of not a few words and phrases in the New Testament writings in a way hitherto impossible, owing to their subtle allusiveness in relation to current speech.[1]

[1] These aspects of New Testament language have already been worked out to some degree, in Germany by Deissmann, in his two series of *Bibelstudien* (being translated for Messrs. T. & T. Clark), in England by Professor Ramsay, particularly in papers in the *Expository Times*, Vol. X., entitled "The Greek of the Early Church and the Pagan ritual."

Of course the outward uniformity described masked immense latent differences, of race, vernacular language and thought, sentiment and usage, affecting every department of life, individual and social. These local diversities, of which (especially in the sphere of religion) Roman policy was markedly tolerant, have themselves a meaning for the growth of local Christian types, distinguishable even from the first. But they were in the main subordinate to a certain unity of habit and thought due by the controlling influence of Roman Law. Thus the ultimate thing to bear in mind, save for the districts under subject native princes, is the Romanized character of the civilized and semi-civilized world in the Apostolic Age. If we would find a real parallel to the scale on which this was realized, we must come down to our own day and seek it in the uniform language and institutions of the Anglo-Saxon race.

One of the most striking proofs of the all-pervasive influence of Græco-Roman culture is furnished by a fact of the first importance for the fortunes of the Gospel in the Empire, the liberalizing of the Jew himself when detached from his native soil. The Judaism of the Dispersion was quite distinct in temper and outlook from Palestinian orthodoxy. It was of a type intermediate between Judaism and Hellenism, using the latter term to express the sum total of ideas and sentiments which sprang from the Greek spirit and its history. It was thus the bridge by which the Gospel passed over with little or no delay

into the pagan world, just because this had already ceased in its better representatives[1] to be pagan at heart, and because many of these had come to connect their purer theistic ideas with Jewish monotheism. Apart from this the history of the Apostolic Age must have been far other than it was; and the Gentile mission of St. Paul in particular would have been a much smaller thing, if indeed it could have obtained distinct being in his lifetime at all. In fact we may safely assert that, if the Providential ordering of the world is capable in any case of becoming the subject of historical proof, such proof is to be found here. Gentile Christianity turned on the adjustment of two quite independent lines of preparation, that in Judæa and that of the Empire, converging on a certain

[1] The various types of religious belief embraced within the ample and elastic limits of general conformity to the worship recognized by each city-state, cannot here be described. But they may be hinted in some pregnant words from Prof. Lewis Campbell's *Religion in Greek Literature*, ch. xvi. Hellenic culture "began with ceremonialism, and rose gradually toward a pure and elevated morality. The idea of God was purged [by the noblest poets and thinkers] from the beggarly elements of primitive superstition and the accretions of fanciful mythology, until the most sacred names corresponded to the highest aspirations of the noblest men. But as the race declined, or became contaminated with other races, the Greek came again under the power of local superstitions which had never lost their hold, or of irrational mysticisms brought in from abroad which *soothed but could not satisfy:* while, in comparison with these, an elaborately reasoned philosophy exercised only a limited power." The last sentence needs supplementing. Religious mysticism of the Pythagorean type, "with its vague conceptions of harmony as a law of the universe, its worship of order, its spirituality in conceiving the Godhead, its asceticism as the highest of earthly conditions," represented a real awakening of the religious spirit. The ideal of spiritual intuition won by moral purity, was a great advance on threadbare Greek rationalism.

point in time. And it involved the existence at that time of a link between them free from the extreme features of each, and so adapted to the transmission of the best life of the one (raised to a new and higher power) to the sounder elements in the other. The "predetermined harmony" is very delicate. Had there been no negative preparation in the Gentile world, no sense of bankruptcy as regards its own traditional ideals—religious, philosophical, and political—side by side with the positive preparation of higher aspirations after a purer and more humane moral ideal and a religion vitally in touch with such an ideal, the Gospel could have made but little headway. For it must be borne in mind that the Gospel came as from below, as the faith of a sect of a "barbarous," an impracticable, even a ridiculous race. It was like a missionary movement from Hinduism to the ruling race in India to-day. Hence the feeling of moral failure on the part of the more civilized, *i. e.*, Hellenized and Romanized, Empire was an indispensable factor in the situation. On the other hand, the instinct for a universal religion answering to the universal political unity, for a living faith in one Sovereign and Fatherly God, to put a deeper meaning into the civic brotherhood of which Cæsar was head, and into the ethical brotherhood that was dawning on many besides philosophers—this too operated in favor of Christianity, dimly indeed at first, but afterward with a growing consciousness. And in the end it was this, probably, that in the main decided Constantine to unite the fortunes of Empire and Church: for by his time it was plain that the latter

had no serious rival as the higher soul of unity in the body politic.

(*b*) *The Jewish Diaspora.*

Centuries earlier this grand position was being coveted with much zeal, and often with no little nobility of aim, by the Jewish Dispersion for Jehovah and His Holy Law. In proportion to the length of their residence abroad, and to the degree in which the better side of Greek thought and Roman law and order confronted them locally, Jews settled outside Palestine came to think very differently of their "Gentile" neighbors than was possible to the Palestinian Jew. They saw the higher possibilities in them; nay, they were forced to recognize the superiority of Greek philosophy and culture to the rudiments of such things existing in the Holy Land. Thus they began to respect and feel a fellow-feeling for others than Jews; and in some matters they were willing to learn. Yet their deepest feeling was that of their infinite advantage in what they had to give, the great truths of revealed religion. And in thinking of this religion they came to lay more and more stress on its moral side, its sublime and pure ethics as expounded by the prophets in particular. These prophets had not only taught them to loathe as "idolatry" all sensuous modes of representing and worshipping Deity, but had also made them aware of their responsibility to Jehovah for making His name honored among the Gentiles and His revealed will a light to the ends of the earth. This preoccupation with the prophetic and non-ritual side of

Judaism was the more natural that distance from Jerusalem made the whole sacrificial system a quite subordinate thing in their practice, in spite of rare visits to the greater Feasts. Thus experience sifted for them the sum total of traditional Judaism; with the result, that the piety of the Diaspora became a distinct type by itself. It was a highly spiritual monotheism, with a sense for the moral side of religion enhanced by the conspicuous divorce between religion and morality characteristic of pagan society, but with a minimum of distinctive religious usages.

Hence when the more zealous souls began to supplement personal effort by literary propaganda, the religious ideal set forth was much akin to that of the "wisdom" literature of the Old Testament, and especially to the book of *Ecclesiasticus*. This may best be seen by comparing the latter Palestinian work with its Hellenistic and propagandist companion in the Apocrypha, the *Wisdom of Solomon*. We cannot here attempt to characterize all the forms of literature of which the Diaspora availed itself for the persuasion and conversion of its neighbors. They were put into circulation not only under Jewish names of repute, such as King Solomon the Wise, but also under those of ancient pagan sages, such as Heraclitus, the "dark" philosopher, and the oracular Sibyl of widespread fame. Naturally the usages of Judaism most repugnant to Gentiles were here omitted. Such a literature had doubtless considerable effect on pagan opinion,[1] toward removing prejudice against the Jew-

[1] There is reason to believe that Virgil had read the Jewish *Sibylline oracles* in some form and attached some credence to their gen-

ish faith as a barbarous, recent affair: otherwise it would not have been so largely resorted to by its zealous authors. The same may perhaps be inferred from the systematic criticism to which the Alexandrine scholar, Apion, subjected Judaism in a work which elicited a reply from Josephus.

The side, however, from which Judaism was being pressed upon general acceptance in Alexandrine circles, was in the main the more strictly philosophic one connected with the name of Philo, though he had forerunners whose works have failed to reach us. It is in this quarter that the compromise between Judaism and Hellenism reached its fullest and frankest form, the spirit and ideal remaining Jewish, while the forms and technical categories into which it was developed were borrowed from Plato and the Stoics. The national element was subordinated to the human and universal, while the naïve religious faith of the Old Testament was forced into metaphysical moulds by the method of allegoric exegesis, already used by the Stoics with like purpose and results upon the revered monuments of early Greek thought, the Homeric poems and the like. This Alexandrine Judaism was of enormous significance for the future of Christianity. For not only did it secure in the Apostolic Age a favorable hearing for the Gospel as a higher form of the Mosaic "philosophy" taken in the religious and practical sense characteristic of the age: it also

eral idea of a golden age of righteousness and peace as at hand, an idea which accorded so far with the Stoic idea of a cycle of ages ever coming round in slow and solemn succession.

determined the speculative setting given to the new faith, when once it began to feel the need of such elaboration. But, though the more liberal Judaism of the Diaspora had some footing in Palestine, even in Jerusalem, through the return of colonial Jews, the Hellenists, to the fatherland: yet in its earlier years Christianity was chiefly moulded by its reception among purely Palestinian Jews. And so a truly historical understanding of the Apostolic Age depends, to begin with, on a due realization of native Judaism and its various tendencies at the dawn of the Christian era.

(*c*) *Palestinian Judaism.*

The post-exilic Judæan community, as it came to be remoulded by the efforts of Ezra, Nehemiah, and certain nameless prophetic coadjutors, on the basis of the Law-book brought by Ezra from the land of exile, was a Church-nation. As compared with pre-exilic Israel it was a close community, like the upper castes in Hinduism, its limits fixed no longer by a mere covenant of Jehovah with "the children of Israel" as a race, but by observance of certain fundamental usages regulating the conduct of daily life, social and personal, in sharp distinction from those of other peoples round about. The poles about which this life revolved were the Temple in Zion and the Law, now made definite by its dissemination in written form through the Synagogue. This latter, an outcome of the exigencies of exile life far from Zion, now spread over the whole area of renovated Judaism.

All along the national history the collective aspect of the Covenant with Jehovah had been more prominent than the individual. Individuals had relations with Jehovah because Jehovah had covenant relations with the race and the land: so much so, that outside the Holy Land the relations were felt to be partly inoperative. But now the experience of the exile and the sense of previous apostasy from Jehovah, conceived as due to too promiscuous intercourse with other peoples, had brought out to the full the consciousness of separateness or holiness *to* Jehovah and *from* all other peoples and their gods. Along with this the notion of a sacred or "clean" life, lived in a community kept clean from contact with persons or things profane, by national ordinances of divine origin and sanction, assumed immense prominence. This was not, indeed, felt equally, or conceived after exactly the same manner or degree by all Jews, much less carried out by all with equal consistency. But there was always a party of the stricter obedience, which under varying forms, determined by the national history and fortunes, emphasized the ideal of holiness or devotedness to Jehovah and of separateness from all that did not fall within the terms of His Covenant. With the era of temporary national deliverance under the lead of the Maccabees, which coincides with a great outburst of patriotic religion and religious patriotism *c.* 165, the various tendencies within the bosom of the Church-nation emerge into something like clearness, and run a more or less continuous course down to the Christian era.

But before tracing the later religious types that coexisted in Judaism when Christianity came to birth, we must notice certain great beliefs more or less entertained by the Jews at large. It was natural, that after a long, weary period of national servitude, the acquired bent of mind among the Jews at the dawn of the second century B. C. should be one of eager expectancy toward the future. As they dwelt on their past glories, the glowing promises of a future prosperity yet more worthy of Jehovah's covenant with their race—contrasting so sadly with the leaden skies of their present national experiences—caused them to project their thoughts constantly into the future. They strove to catch the first gleams of that Day of Jehovah, the great intervention of God in human history which should close the "latter days" of the old era of the mixed cup, and usher in the new age of unmingled blessing, righteousness, and world-wide influence for the Chosen People, the agent of Jehovah's universal reign. There were, to the pious Jew, immense arrears of anomaly calling for Divine rectification, both by way of retribution on the evil and consolation of the righteous. Providence was sadly in need of a supreme vindication in Israel, and that in the eyes of all peoples. This attitude of soul may be called, in respect of its preoccupation with the Last Things of Judgment and Reward, Eschatological; in respect of the characteristics of the new order to be brought in, or of the prime agent sometimes conceived to be necessary to its introduction, Messianic. Under the former aspect, the specific idea involved in the

ideally holy and happy state of the Church-nation (which was the end of ends in either case) was that of Resurrection; under the latter, the Messianic Kingdom and the Messiah.

The Messianic Hope is so vast a theme that we can but allude to it. But it is needful to say with all the emphasis which our growing knowledge of the later Judaism warrants, that it was by no means uniform in nature, either as between several marked eras (from 200 B. C. to 70 A. D.), or as between various religious circles within any given era; nor did it always contemplate a personal Messiah. Primarily the Messianic "Kingdom" had come to mean simply the ideal state of Israel as the Chosen People, amid whom Jehovah should be manifestly present in blessing. *Immanuel*, "God with us," was its key-note; and its condition was perfect fidelity to the Covenant regulating Jehovah's relations with His people. Hence there were two ways of looking at it, according to the tendency of a man's piety. If one looked at the Covenant from the side of man's obligation, then the day of perfect obedience seemed but a shadowy and ever remote possibility, behind which lay concealed the full favor of Jehovah, His manifest coming to His Temple and Land. If, on the other hand, one regarded the Covenant through the boundless and unknown possibilities of Jehovah's loving kindness, shown on many an occasion of human shortcoming—then, ah! then, with trembling hope and fear, the soul might expect large things of its God. To the former alternative it was the tendency of legalist and pessimist minds to lean, and to have no

really effective Messianic Hope. To the latter inclined the pious souls whose breathings reach us in many a psalm, and whose spiritual children have left some record of their trust, now vivid, now faint, as it animates the "Psalms of Solomon" (a voice from the better sort of Pharisees, about 63–45 B. C.) and some other parts of the Apocrypha, but especially the Apocalyptic literature extending over the whole period B. C. 200—A. D. 70.

Of course the *rôle* assigned to a personal Messiah would vary greatly as one held to the one or the other view. On the former theory he would be little more than the figure-head placed upon the already "holy" nation, and his rule would be largely formal, except as war-captain in Israel's Great Revenge on her ancient and present heathen foes. On the latter, he would be the vice-gerent in human form of Jehovah in His character as Redeemer of Israel, first from her sins and uncleanness, and only afterward from remaining evils of an earthly nature. The one was the method of self-salvation, aided no doubt by the "merits of the Fathers"—a salvation which still preserved its collective character by the notion of a great common store of righteousness or merit. The other was the method of pure grace, taking effect in a Divine interposition, not indeed unconditioned by a certain penitent readiness on the part of the sounder heart of Israel,[1] but still by no means merited on that account. Only so could the gulf between God's

[1] A preparedness in which a Forerunner, a second Elijah the prophet, was sometimes conceived to play an important part, Malachi iv. 4–6: so John the Baptist's ministry.

holiness and man's poor copy thereof, in response to the command "Be ye holy, for I am holy," be bridged over and a true "consolation of Israel" come about. It is true that "the primitive confusion of the material and the ethical" senses of holiness was not yet completely overcome, even among the more spiritual type of Jehovah's devoted ones. Nevertheless much had been done to cause the stress to fall more and more decisively on the ethical side of the Law. To this result contributed not only prophets and psalmists, but also "the wise." Their terse sayings stuck in the memory and became household words, so gradually raising the level of the conscience. This moralizing of the covenant Law between Jehovah and His true worshippers must be kept full in view, alongside the technical legalism of the Pharisees, if one is to understand the early Jewish Christians, and particularly such a writing as the Epistle of James.

Closely related to this ethical development was the enhanced sense of, and even craving for, a day of Divine Assize, when all wrong both to Israel and in Israel (to the truly godly sort) should be redressed. But even slight reflection made men feel that this implied some kind of Resurrection, that the Judge of all the earth might do right by his subjects of all generations, past as well as present. This had not been felt so long as the earlier view of the intense solidarity of the family, tribe, or nation had blunted the sense of individual responsibility. But by the second century B. C. the individual had become something like a moral unit. And so it was widely,

though not universally, held that "many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth (or 'a land of dust,' *i. e.*, the grave) shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting abhorrence"; while a specially glorious lot was reserved for "the wise," the teachers of righteousness. But even this belief in a great resurrection of Israel, to share in its Messianic state as a "Kingdom of the Saints of the Most High," was by no means steadily or uniformly believed throughout the two centuries prior to the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The general idea varied greatly in form in different circles of Judaism, and also at different crises in the national fortunes. When the latter were darkest, the preoccupation with the future Day of Jehovah was greatest and most impressively supernatural in character, often including a glorious personal Messiah.[1] But these very fluctuations prove that, though the moral necessity of some Resurrection or Future Life (of long or even unending duration, on earth or in the spirit world—or in both) was growingly felt to be essential to the justification of Jehovah's faithfulness to His Covenant, in the face of the "frowning Providence" that so often mocked the pious Jew, there was yet no definite doctrine on the subject. On the contrary, while the Sadducees refused to admit the idea at all as a part of authentic Mosaism, the more earnest and progressive groups—Pharisees, Essenes, the dutiful righteous among the Little and Poor peo-

[1] For details, reference may be made to Rev. R. H. Charles' exhaustive article, *Eschatology of the Apocryphal Literature*, in Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible.*

ple, as well as the pious Jews of the Dispersion—cherished it, each in a form of their own, and even with local variations. When we bear these things in mind, we see new force in the apostle's words as he boasts that Christ Jesus had "annulled Death and illumined Life and Incorruption through the Gospel." On the other hand, we shall cease to wonder at the diversity in unity with which the several New Testament writers set forth their now sure and certain hope of Eternal Life.

So far we have dealt with certain great streams of thought in later Judaism. We have yet to consider the various religious types coexisting in the unity of the sacred "Commonwealth of Israel" when the Forerunner began that sifting of Israel which the Greater One was to carry to the decisive issue. The essentials of Judaism at that time are well summed up in the saying of Simeon the Righteous, uttered two centuries before, and preserved among the "Sayings of the Fathers" (*Pirqe Aboth*) committed to writing about as long after the Christian era. "On three things the world is stayed: on the Thorah (Law), on the Worship, and on the bestowal of Kindnesses." According as the accent falls on each of these in succession, we have the Pharisee, the Sadducee, and the popular Saint—using this phrase for want of a better, to express the genuine successor of the pious or "meek" ones of the Psalter.

The thoroughgoing Pharisees relied on the Thorah as developed and codified by the dicta of a series of great Scribes and Doctors into "the tradi-

tion of the Elders." This divine code covered the whole area of daily life, fixing, often by most painful casuistry, what was allowable and unallowable (things "loosed" and "bound"), and what clean and unclean. The great evil of the system lay in its subordination of moral to ceremonial considerations, where these came into competition. It was this that most roused Christ's righteous indignation: for it lay at the root of their self-complacent "hypocrisy." Moral goodness as such did not concern them as a class: if "mercy and truth" were praiseworthy, it was as part of the sacred national code. We speak now of the extremists of this school, who perhaps amounted to only some 6,000 in all Palestine (mainly Judæa). But the baneful influence of a compact and zealous brotherhood such as they formed, upon the religious ideals of the nation was very far-reaching. For they had the prestige of learning, as well as of rigorous scrupulosity in pursuance of the national ideals of Righteousness and Purity—a term whose ambiguity masked the deep differences latent in current Judaism. Besides emptying these great words of most of their moral contents, Pharisaic piety debased the motives of the godly life by language that narrowed down Jehovah's Covenant relation to the terms of a legal contract, into which both the better and worse kind counted upon an unknown quantity entering at last, "the merits of the Fathers." This was the one form in which the typical Pharisee knew anything of humility. When all else failed, he counted on pleading, "But I have Abraham as my father. Can a circumcised Jew really be

damned like a Gentile dog? Where, then, is the advantage of being a Jew?" On other occasions, indeed, when it was the time to "despise others," the profane vulgar who cared not for the traditions of the elders, "the publicans and sinners," the outcasted, as it were, in Israel—then, it was all too easy to ignore the value of Abrahamic origin and let brethren go to join the other "dogs." Obviously, there were deep cleavages in Judaism, and we must be careful not to think loosely about "the Jews," as if they were homogeneous, when we come to consider the early Jewish Christians.

The Sadducees call for less notice since there is little room for doubt as to their attitude to all Christians. It was one of severe aloofness. In Christ's day at least the Sadducees were mainly identified with the high-priestly aristocracy that controlled the Temple-worship, and in the absence of any native prince (*i. e.*, the various semi-Jewish Herods) were also the leaders in the State, the dominant party in the Sanhedrin, the supreme native court under the Roman governor (*procurator*). In religion, like most aristocracies they were both "moderates" and conservatives. They refused, that is, to accept the advance on the Pentateuch represented not only by the Prophets and Psalms, but also by "the tradition of the Elders," on the one hand, and by the Messianic and Apocalyptic beliefs of popular religion, on the other. The former threatened their own privileged position as superintendents of the national worship centring in the Temple and the sacrificial system, by the encroach-

ments of sacred jurists, the recognized custodians of a written body of revealed Law which they could make speak as they willed. The latter they despised as superstitious, and feared as a constant source of fanatical attempts to innovate on the humiliating political situation, which for many reasons it was their own policy to maintain for the present at least. Hence it is they who take the lead in the early attempts to reduce the Apostles to silence, lest public order be upset, possibly to the extent of bringing the Romans on the scene. Probably the nearest approximation to their religious attitude known to us, is to be found in the sceptical "Preacher" of the book of Ecclesiastes.

Very different was the spirit of the third of the sects which Josephus recognizes as existing within Palestinian Judaism. The Essenes, whatever their origin and whatever the exact meaning of their name, were far closer to the Pharisees than to the Sadducees, both in their passion for "purity" after the standards of the Mosaic Law and in the subordinate place which they assigned to the Temple and its cultus. Indeed in this latter respect they far outdid all other Jews, since, in some way not perfectly clear to us, they regarded the bloody sacrifices even of the Temple as defiling, and were content to rely solely upon other kinds of sacrifice, such as their common meals—which were partaken of with great solemnity and regard to ritual purity. To these they added those once secondary "sacrifices" which had through the language of prophets and psalmists, echoed also by the "Wisdom" literature,

advanced in many devout Jewish minds into the primary place, as the most congenial forms of homage to a God such as they conceived the High and Holy One of Israel to be. These were the sacrifices of praise, of prayer, of fasting—the sacrifice of the "broken and contrite heart"—of active charity and alms-giving. The peculiar communistic life, indeed, of the stricter type of Essenes (who were also celibates), living near the Dead Sea, gave such sacrifices special forms. They regarded their refectory as their temple, the senior brethren as priests, from whom also they learned certain esoteric doctrines extracted from the generally received Jewish Scriptures and from their own special sacred writings, both mystical and apocalyptic in character. Specimens of some of their teaching probably survive in sections of the *Book of Enoch*, dating from the second and first centuries B. C. Other aspects of it were probably never committed to writing, being handed down only orally under most awful vows of secrecy.[1] We know, however, from Josephus, who lived several years among them as one of those only on probation, that they had a very definite doctrine of the Future Life, combining apparently the doctrines of a Resurrection and of the Immortality of the Soul, usually rivals rather than allies in contemporary Judaism. But while they were in some sense eclectic in their ideals, we cannot be sure of the sources whence they derived or of the principles by which they harmonized their views. In any case they were

[1] This is the more striking that the Essenes denounced oaths in all other cases as tending to undermine perfect sincerity.

fundamentally Jewish in their religious spirit and in many of its manifestations, though their asceticism goes beyond anything warranted by the Jewish notion of "purity," and points to an alien dualistic view of matter and spirit.[1]

Akin to the Essenes, at least as regards their conception of brotherly kindness as the ritual of the religion of a pure heart, was a fourth group which Josephus omits to mention: for in truth it was not a sect at all. It has for us the greatest interest of all, since from it came the bulk of the first Christians, those whose type of piety must have determined the Jewish Christianity of the earlier chapters of Acts. Though perhaps the most numerous of the four types we have mentioned, it is most apt to escape notice because it does not appear explicitly in literature. It was not, indeed, a literary class; its members are known, in so far as they are known at all, as "the quiet in the land." But they have in fact their literary embodiment. It is the spirit of their piety that breathes through the gracious narratives of Luke i. ii. Zacharias, Elizabeth, Mary, Joseph, Simeon and Anna, are all, with minor differences, examples of this type of piety, the genuine outcome of Old Testament religion, *i. e.*, of the Law read through the prophets and modified and expanded in its ethics by Psalmists and the best of the "Wisdom" writers. Its religious ideal was that of Micah (vi. 8), when he cried, "What doth Jehovah

[1] There was however a less strict type of Essenes, who allowed marriage for the perpetuation of the race, and who probably lived under more ordinary social conditions on the outskirts of cities.

require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" In its more outward aspect it finds yet fuller expression in words of Zechariah (vii. 9, 10): "Execute true judgment, and show mercy and compassion every man to his brother; and oppress not the widow, nor the fatherless, the stranger, nor the poor; and let none of you imagine evil against his brother in your heart." What this means may be seen in greater detail in Job, chap. xxxi. It is the Law as the Wise set it before their scholars in Proverbs and in kindred books of instruction. And finally, and most significantly, it coincides with the preaching of the last of the prophets, John the Baptist, the son of Zacharias and Elizabeth, who was all but within the Kingdom which he announced.

3. THE NEW GERM.

According to the view set forth in the last paragraph, he who has divined the piety of the Jews who surrounded the infant John and the infant Jesus must understand more of the first Christians than the man whose mind is preoccupied with Rabbinic lore. For Rabbinic is, broadly speaking, the product of the Lawyers, the allies of the Pharisees whose sure instinct marked Jesus out as the deadly foe of their religious type. The pious souls of Luke i., ii., were his natural friends, those whose hearts leaped with loyalty to Him as the incarnation of their ideal of personal religion.

If certain Pharisees ultimately entered Christ's Society in the aftertime, it was quite late in the day.

During His earthly career it was ever on the others that His eye rested with hope, the "little ones," the *petite bourgeoisie*[1] of Palestine; from these came most of His followers. Culture, as then understood, was a hindrance to receptivity, not a help; because it made its possessors artificial and self-satisfied, too superior persons to have their notions of religion revolutionized by a Galilean peasant. It was the unsophisticated heart of humanity, schooled by a life not too far from the soil and from honest hard work, and not the intellect of Palestine, that saw the heavenly vision in the Prophet of Nazareth.

Jesus himself recognized this as a law of the Father's Kingdom, in words familiar to all. The "wise and understanding" saw no glory in this Christ, that they should desire Him; whereas the humbler folk, mere "babes" in religious knowledge and culture, had their hearts strangely drawn out to Him in silent trust, notwithstanding the puzzlement of mind caused by the absence of some of their cherished Messianic tokens. Such doubts were swallowed up by the Divine witness of the Resurrection: and thereupon a steady stream of the humbler "little folk" flowed towards the Messianic Community, marked off as an Israel within Israel by

[1] Compare the division of the population of mediæval Italy into "lesser" (*minores*) and "greater" (*majores*); whence the Franciscan "Friars Minor." Analogies occur in most peoples at some stage of their history. That this is the sense of "the little folk," or "these (my) little ones," phrases in which Christ describes His disciples among the simple sort, seems clear from the context (Matt. x. 42, cf. xviii. 10, 14; Mark. ix. 42; Luke xvii. 2), as also from the antithesis "little and great" in Rev. xi. 18, xiii. 16, xix. 5 (Ps. cxv. 13) 18, xx. 12, cf.; Heb. viii. 11.

the consecrating rite of baptism. Such believers had been fed mainly on the Old Testament Scriptures themselves, interpreted by the current popular rendering (Targum) recited by the Reader (Methurgeman) in the Synagogal worship, and by preaching based thereon. On them the set dogmas and painful rules of the School had but little hold. They were benighted lay-folk (ἰδιῶται) and unlettered, even their leaders, a Peter and a John, as regards technical knowledge of the Law; and so were disqualified for the good life in the eyes of the Pharisees, a mere rabble little short of accursed in God's sight. The very notion of a prophet of Galilean origin and a Nazarene, was in itself absurd (John vii. 49, 52).

Of course such simple folk had their own limitations. Even more than their religious leaders and shepherds, these poor bewildered sheep were apt to follow the vagaries of an undisciplined imagination, stirred by the patriotic and scenic side of the Messianic Hope. Few in Palestine in those days could consciously distinguish poetic imagery in the ancient prophets, imagery largely borrowed from conditions no longer on the national horizon, from the abiding principles of their message. And so a weird amalgam of half-understood images, drawn from the variegated and piecemeal utterances of prophecy had formed itself in most minds. It was indeed kaleidoscopic in character. But it focused itself in some shape around the notion of a great national Deliverance, cancelling the impotence of the Jewish people, in face of the oppressive Gentile, by

an exhibition of power worthy the Mighty One of Israel. This Apocalyptic mode of thought, which was embodied in an influential literature gradually coming within our knowledge, had naturally its greatest influence in the naïve, untutored minds of the simpler sort. And the historian has to reckon very seriously with this fact, not only as a hindrance to prompt discipleship to Jesus in the days of His flesh, but also as coloring men's notions of the Messianic Kingdom and its future long after they were persuaded that Jesus was really the Messiah. One way of getting over the offence of the Cross was by a mere postponing of all they had hoped for in Him at His first coming, to His constantly expected second Advent. But this meant also a postponement of the day of real transformation in their thoughts about the nature of the Kingdom and about God's way of making it come on earth. Nor must we be surprised if we find the mind of Christ often veiled by the forms in which His followers were able to apprehend His Gospel.

Yet after all, there was in their minds no inner principle of antagonism to Jesus' teaching touching the essence of religion here and now, as there was among the "great" and "wise" with their pride of position and learned prejudices. This teaching was the verbal transcript of His own filial piety, as living face to face with the Father, that "Holy Father" in whom blended in perfect accord the Justice and Love that men found so hard to reconcile in their thought of God. But Jesus did not promulgate his Gospel of divine Fatherhood and human Sonship as

a dogma, in formal and therefore abstract fashion. He used popular speech, the language of homely but vivid imagery, often bound up with traditional associations, and most unfit for the literal and prosaic expression of any sort of "orthodoxy." But on the other hand it was the most stimulating and vital medium for the spirit that it was His supreme care to stir into life. Its poetry and even paradox were above all things suggestive, and opened springs of fresh thought and feeling long sealed by conventional correctness and torpor. Men had to interpret His sayings to themselves, if they were to get any good from them. And this made appeal to the best and deepest that lay latent in them. Men had to seek, before they could even fancy that they had found: they had to coöperate with the Teacher by the travail of their souls. Only to him who "had," who used all that was in him, was anything "given" by such a Gospel. On the other hand no special culture was needed, only a "pure" or sincere heart. And then the word came into the simplest mind with a strangely moving, humbling, liberating power. Through the straits of contrition and self-abandonment the soul came forth "into a large place"—far larger than it could perceive for many a long day.

Herein lay another peculiarity of Christ's message. It was so purely affirmative of a few elemental religious truths, radiating from the relation of Father to son, of son to Father, that while He was in fact making old things new and effecting the most radical of spiritual revolutions, the fact was least sus-

pected by those who most felt its power. Its enemies saw its logical bearings far more clearly than its friends. Quite early the former saw that the regal liberty with which Jesus "fulfilled" the Mosaic Law in his own way, made him not the slave but the Lord of the Law in whole as in part: and they judged Him accordingly. The latter were at first conscious only of a new pulse of life, a religious exhilaration, a sense of moral individuality in relation to the fulfilment of God's Law, as something of which they now saw the aim and spirit. It was but dimly that any of them felt the novelty of the sense in which Jesus "fulfilled the Law and the Prophets." It was but slowly that they came to realize, through the logic of facts and the march of events, how decisively they had already broken with Jewish national Legalism in following His lead with childlike confidence. For Jesus had not criticised in a formal or abstract way either the Jewish Law, as distinct from perversions or evasions of its spirit, or the popular apocalyptic forms in which the Messianic hope was cherished. He used the current conceptions of each with a sovereign freedom, at once conscious of their inadequacy to the divine relations mirrored immediately in the pure depths of His own soul, and at the same time content to use them as the only forms of human thought then available, the outcomes of the Father's providential education of the Chosen People. It was His to place in the mass He found to hand the leaven able to leaven its very elements, the seed which had in itself a life of unsuspected potency. The rest was

the Father's care, as was also the path Himself was called to tread as Son and therefore Messiah in God's own deep sense.

But as for His simple followers, they could not view things from the inside outwards, as did their Master; as touching principles, they were only feeling their way inwards from the outside. The dangers of this transition period, dangers latent in the unconscious conservatism of the common people, were neither slight nor few.[1] This Jesus Himself recognized, in speaking of the patching an old garment with a piece of fresh cloth, and of trying to preserve new wine in old wine-skins. Certain forms of thought and usage had grown with the growth of the old religion: and the new spirit could not be confined by them without tension and loss. The parable had both a present and a future application. The Apostolic Age is one long exemplification of its truth: nor was its significance even then exhausted. To the Spirit, however, whose living energy was to rule and guide the Christian Society, its Founder confidently pointed, as the guarantee of a due balance between inward life and outer forms of self-expression according to changing conditions and ne-

[1] It was only through the Temptation that Jesus passed, in the first hours of His Messianic Vocation, into the serenity of conscious acceptance of the Father's purely spiritual path for Messiah, His Son. And the difference between the alternative ideals of Messiahship is revealed by His joy in welcoming Peter's perception of the true type in a supreme moment at Cæsarea Philippi, and by the sharpness of the rebuke that met the tempter's voice which spoke in Peter's next words. Through like trials had the Christian Church to pass, in entering upon its true heritage in the Gospel.

cessities. Peter's early speeches, and Stephen's Apology; the Epistles to the Galatians, the Romans, the Hebrews; the Johannine Epistles and Gospel—what are these but fingerposts in the pilgrimage by which the Apostolic Age entered more fully into the Gospel of Christ?

CHRONOLOGY.

	A. D.
The Crucifixion	March, 29 (30)
Paul's Conversion	30–33
Paul's first visit to Jerusalem	34–35
Caius (Caligula), emperor	37–41
Claudius, emperor	41–54
Herod Agrippa I., king of Palestine	41–44
Palestine under Roman Procurators	44–66
Paul's visit to Jerusalem with Famine Fund	c. 46
Paul's First Missionary Journey	47
Jerusalem Conference: Second Missionary Journey,	49 (50)[1]
Corinth reached, late in	50
Paul visits Jerusalem: Third Missionary Journey,	52
Nero, emperor	Oct. 54
Paul leaves Ephesus for Greece, spring,	55
Paul visits Jerusalem, and is arrested, spring	56
Paul confined at Cæsarea, autumn,	56–58
Paul reaches Rome, early in	59
Nero's rule begins to degenerate	59
Acts ends: Paul's martyrdom, also James'	61–62
Peter reaches Rome	62–63
Fire of Rome, summer: death of Peter and many Christians	64
Outbreak of Jewish War	66
Death of Nero, June 9: Galba succeeds	68
Vespasian in Judæa declared emperor	July, 69
Jerusalem taken, the Temple burned	Aug. 70
Vespasian and his two sons in power	71–79
John and other apostles in "Asia"	c. 70–95
Titus, emperor	79–81
Domitian, emperor	81–96
Roman letter to Corinth (*1 Clement*)	95–96
Nerva, emperor	96–98
Trajan, emperor	Jan. 98–117

[1] Henceforward Turner and Ramsay differ by a year, see p. xiii.

BOOK I.

The First Generation: A. D. 29–62.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY PALESTINIAN DAYS.

(*a*) *The Peaceful Beginnings* (Acts i. ii.).

HE curtain lifts in Acts upon the days that followed the Passion, during which the personal disciples of Jesus were quickened, by experience of their Master's presence, out of despair into a renovated faith. For had He not vanquished death, and so given final proof of His Messiahship, notwithstanding all the paradoxes of His earthly career? But of these wondrous days, a very life from the dead for the disciples and creative of the Church that was to be, no one complete and connected account seems to have gone forth and become the common property of all Christians. Indeed Luke[1] himself reflects in his two works, the Gospel and Acts, different degrees of information touching the appearances of the risen Christ. The way in which he resumes the topic with which his Gospel had closed shows that he was desirous of supplementing what he had there stated, to the best of his knowledge,[2]

[1] So we style the author of Acts throughout, without foreclosing the question of authorship, discussed in the Literary Appendix.

[2] In the last paragraphs of ch. xxiv. there are one or two points (*e. g.*, vv. 44, 50, with Dr. Plummer's notes), at which interviews which were really separated in time are simply strung together by a loose connecting particle like our "and" (δέ): and at the date of writing them Luke had no definite idea as to the time that elapsed between resurrection and ascension.

by fresh detail that had since rewarded the unwearied research to which he alludes in the preface to that Gospel. He may formerly have thought, like the writer of the so-called Epistle of Barnabas (*c.* 70–75),[1] that the ascension followed hard upon the resurrection and manifestation on the first day of the week. Now, however, he is able to fill out the picture somewhat, while careful to connect it with his earlier account by a brief retrospect, before naming forty days as the period covered by the appearances of Christ.

Next, he reiterates a point alluded to in his gospel and by which he clearly set great store, namely the promise of an "enduement with power from on high," to qualify disciples for effectual witness to Jesus as the Christ. It is here described, in studied contrast to John's water baptism, as a Holy Spirit baptism, after the order of the baptism with which Jesus Himself had entered upon His Messianic Vocation (i. 5, cf. Luke iii. 22, iv. 1, 14, 18). To this more inner and spiritual aspect of "the Kingdom," the theme uppermost in their thoughts, the disciples were however not yet fully alive. What they see in their Lord's promise is shown by the question: "Lord, dost Thou at this time purpose restoring the kingdom to Israel." The national, external, and forcibly sudden side of the traditional Messianic Hope still possesses their mind and imagination. But He waves aside all questions of time, referring such

[1] Ch. xv. 9, "wherefore we also devote the eighth day (*i. e.*, Sunday) to gladness, wherein Jesus also rose from the dead and after appearing ascended into heaven."

matters to the Father's own good pleasure; and again leads their thought back to the essential thing, the Spirit-given power needed to make them able witnesses to Himself and His gospel, whether in Jerusalem or in all Palestine or unto the ends of the earth.[1]

There are those who would include among "the things touching the Kingdom of God," wherein the disciples were taught during this transition period, the germs at least of ecclesiastical institutions. To this there is one sufficient reply derived from the narrative itself; namely, that men still dreaming of an immediate consummation of God's Kingdom in Israel were incapable of even conceiving a divine Kingdom such as actually emerged in the Christian Church. The very notion, then, is an anachronism. The *Ecclesia* or Sacred Congregation of the People of God, that was floating before their minds, was one still conceived on Jewish lines, an Israel within Israel, such as meets us in Isaiah xl–lxvi. It was to become faithful by adhesion to Messiah; that was the one difference between it and the old. Otherwise the institutions remained as before, the old national ones, save in so far as Messiah's visible regal presence might involve a share in governmental functions for His leading followers, "sitting on thrones and judging the tribes of Israel."

So far we have but summarized the account of the resurrection appearances given in Acts. But our

[1] Here our author seems, in his subtle indirect manner, to introduce the virtual plan of his second book, foreshadowing the final range of the Apostolic Ministry in continuation of that of their Lord (i. 8, cf. 1).

earliest witness is of course St. Paul, who here (by a rare exception) is explicit and even detailed in dealing with an historical matter. The point was to him indeed crucial for his faith and apostleship. In 1 Cor. xv. 1ff, he is reminding his converts of his original Gospel message to them; and for historic details that lay beyond his own experience he appeals to the witness of the original apostles, touching which he must have had full knowledge. Hence his references, brief as they are, must be taken as our ultimate basis in the matter. Christ had died, been buried, and then raised up on the third day (according to the Scriptures). Then the order of His successive appearances among men was as follows: To Cephas, then to the Twelve; next to over 500 brethren on one single occasion (ἐφάπαξ), of whom the majority were still alive; next He appeared to James, then to the Apostles one and all (τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν): and last of all, as to one untimely born, He appeared to Paul also. From this pregnant passage some important inferences may be drawn. (1) First the explicit statement "and that He was buried," coming between "He died" and "He was raised," proves Paul's belief in a highly objective resurrection, including a bodily somewhat, though of a non-fleshly order. It was the prototype in fact of the "spiritual body" in which the believer is clothed at resurrection (cf. Phil. iii. 21), in contrast to the "sensuous body" (ψυχικὸν) committed to the earth (ib. 44). And this confirms the view, often confidently challenged, that the "empty grave" was an element in the original Apostolic witness, not a later

supplement. (2) Next his use in his own case of the words[1] "as to the one untimely born" implies, on the one hand, that he conceived the appearance to himself to have been like the rest constituting the series; and on the other hand, that the series itself was not an unbroken one, distributed evenly over the considerable period between the Passion and his own Conversion. Rather there was a period of frequent Christophanies; then they seemed to cease altogether; and the unlooked-for recurrence in his own case was an anomaly, as it were, of Divine Grace. (3) This falls in with the impression conveyed by our Gospels, though it goes beyond them in naming several otherwise unrecorded appearances, and again takes no notice of some, notably those to Mary and to the two disciples on the road to Emmaus, found in John (cf. Matt. xxviii. 9) and Luke respectively.[2] (4) Once more, the prominent

[1] The idea is that of *an immature birth*, involving (1) irregularity of time—here an *unexpected*, abrupt call from darkness to light; (2) the *weakness* of immaturity—by natural opportunity he was the worst off among apostles, while yet grace had accomplished most through him.

[2] Paul's list makes no claim to be exhaustive. In particular it does not negative the idea that there was any Christophany to women, one or more, such as John (xx. 11–18, cf. Matt. xxviii. 9, 10) records. Paul is recording the official testimony to the resurrection of Jesus which could be put forth to convince men anywhere and everywhere. But in witness of this responsible sort, women would hold no place; partly because women were at a discount in that age and would not tell as witnesses, and partly because as a matter of fact the women's testimony had not carried conviction even to the disciples who first heard it. Hence whether Paul had or had not heard of it, he had here no reason to refer to it (cf. end of Mark's Gospel in the MS. known as L.).

place assigned to Peter, as if at least the primary witness of the Risen Christ, answers to the hint in Luke xxiv. 34. There it appears that to Simon the Lord had appeared even earlier than to those on the road to Emmaus; so that in fact Peter's witness was the prime factor in the conviction of the Apostolic circle. (5) Finally the run of the sentences ("that He was raised on the third day . . . and that He appeared to Cephas, then[1] to the Twelve") tends to support the view implied in our Gospels, that the very first appearances were on the day of Resurrection itself (which apart from some such manifestation could hardly be dated at all), and therefore in Jerusalem, not in Galilee as some eminent critics assert.

Is it urged that Christ Himself is recorded in Mark and Matthew to have appointed Galilee as trysting-place for His disciples? An obvious reply is that Matthew[2] actually records the realization of this forecast (xxviii. 16), and yet records also an earlier appearance to women on their affrighted return from the Sepulchre. The Evangelist cannot, then, have understood the reference to Galilee in the way here suggested. Again if the words preceding the Master's reference to Galilee, "I will smite the shepherd and scattered shall be the sheep," are taken to imply a universal flight of His followers from Jerusalem ere the Resurrection morn—this after all is quite arbi-

[1] "Then" (εἶτα), in contrast to "next" (ἔπειτα), suggests that any gap in time, following on the appearance to Peter, came after and not before the appearance to "the Twelve."

[2] Mark lacks its original ending, and so cannot be cited.

trary. Granting that the disciples were scattered from the Master's side by the very act of His arrest, yet some at least stayed in Jerusalem to see the apparent end in His death. And there is nothing to show that then at least they must have straightway departed. Rather they would be so stunned as to remain passive, waiting at least to the end of the Feast that had brought them thither.[1]

Hence there is nothing to mar the intrinsic probability that the first Christophanies surprised Peter and the Apostolic circle still in Jerusalem (see Acts xiii. 31). Then, the feast ended, they departed to realize it all in the quiet of their Galilean homes and await, no longer in despair but in awful hope, further heavenly guidance. Here would come in the Galilean Christophanies, those of the second epoch introduced by Paul with the word "next." These include several successive episodes. First "to over 500 disciples on a single occasion," probably with the eleven Apostles at their head (cf. Matt. xxviii. 16 f.); next "to James," so making him at once a believer and an Apostle in the wider sense—the sense in which it is added, "then to the Apostles one and all," an ex-

[1] This indeed is explicitly stated in the Gospel of St. Peter, probably compiled on the basis of our four Gospels in the second or third quarter of the second century, but containing supplementary matter which sometimes has verisimilitude. The fragment recovered five or six years ago in Egypt ends as follows: "Now it was the last day of the unleavened bread and many went forth returning to their homes, as the feast was ended." Then comes a passage taking us at once to John xxi. The whole follows on the vision of angels to the women on the third day; and the absence of reference to Jerusalem appearances is clearly due to its Docetic Christology.

pression[1] to be distinguished from "the Twelve" already named. Such a vision or visions constituted them, by the standards of the Apostolic Age,[2] "Apostles" rather than mere "disciples." And "last of all" in the whole series, Paul continues—classing himself perhaps with the aforesaid Apostolic class ("the least of Apostles," v. 9)—"as to the one born out of due time, He appeared to me likewise."

The net result is to confirm the impression conveyed by Acts, that before the Twelve and certain other disciples had gathered again at Jerusalem on the eve of the ascension, a series of Christophanies, extending over a month or more, had already taken place. And though we cannot indicate the exact point in Paul's enumeration with which Acts ch. i. 6–14 might best coincide, yet no great forcing seems needful to secure a general harmony of outline between Paul's account on the one hand and those of the Gospels and the Acts on the other.[3] When, and under what incentives, the return from Galilee took place, we cannot say precisely. Probably it was somewhat on this wise. Having been

[1] Perhaps too it implies by its form (πᾶσιν after τοῖς ἀποστόλοις), and by its close connection with James' case, a whole series of similar appearances to individuals.

[2] See 1 Cor. ix. 1, 5*b*, where Paul seems to imply this.

[3] The probability is that the final appearance vouchsafed to the larger Apostolic circle was in Jerusalem itself (cf. Luke xxiv. 50). Nor have we reason to suppose that any Christophanies occurred after the ascension, the case of Paul, "the untimely born," being in fact the unique exception. Paul himself distinguished such Christophanies from mere "visions and revelations of the Lord," such as he refers to in 2 Cor. xi. 1.

convinced by a series of Christophanies in Galilee that their Master had been vindicated by resurrection as Messiah in spite of the episode of death (hitherto to them no part of the Messianic forecast in prophecy and tradition), the Eleven and other personal disciples repaired to Jerusalem, expecting His immediate return to the nation in power and majesty, in its sacred capital, the scene of His death. This is the thought latent in the question possessing their souls in Acts i. 6 ff., where they inquire, "Lord, is it at this present time that thou restorest the kingdom to Israel?" The question, too, suggests that they had come up to Jerusalem as in obedience to the Master's example in His last visit to Jerusalem, with the brief triumph of the public entry. What they had then anticipated without any check, that they were looking for after the great tragedy, in the faith that once more He lived and that with a more divine life than before. In fact He had already been installed as Messiah by God's great intervention, and the words of Psalm cx. were now His heritage: "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at My right hand until I have made thy enemies the footstool of thy feet" (iii. 20 f.).

It was as they waited, still expectant of some great crisis of return on His part, that the promised experience of the day of Pentecost came on them unawares. Without as yet radically changing their conceptions, it impelled them to the ministry of *witnessing* to others what they had experienced. This they did with the added assurance that the pouring forth of the Spirit was a fresh token that Jesus was

installed as Messiah in heaven, that it indeed marked the first stage of the great Day of Jehovah spoken of in Joel ii. 28 ff. (Acts ii. 16 ff. 33). They felt themselves impelled to take up their Lord's work of preparing Israel for the great Day of reckoning and purification, such as the Baptist had conceived the Messiah's Day to be (Luke iii. 16, 17). The genuine Israel was to be separated from the then crooked generation (Acts ii. 40), and so share salvation in the Messianic Kingdom. With such conceptions in mind we can enter into the course of events in these early days.

Besides the Eleven, who seem to have lodged together (i. 13), there were prominent in the body of some 120 disciples, then in Jerusalem, certain women (a class noticed particularly also in Luke's Gospel, viii. 2 f.; xxiii. 49), including Mary the mother of Jesus, also His own brethren, whose honored status in the early community is confirmed by Paul (1 Cor. ix. 5; xv. 7). This inner circle is described as much given to united prayer, probably in the large upper-room in the Apostles' lodgings, as well as more individually in the Temple: and their frame of mind was one of praise and great joy (Luke xxiv. 52–53). This cheerful spirit and this close sympathy continue to mark all that follows. They were essentially in fellowship—"together" is the phrase used (ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, i. 15; ii. 1, 44, 47; cf. Luke xvii. 35). To this circle Peter soon suggested the election of some one to restore the Apostolic body to its original number, doubtless felt to have symbolic meaning in relation

to the twelve tribes of Israel[1] (cf. Luke xxii. 30; Matt. xix. 28).

Incidentally, we learn the original qualifications of an Apostle, viz, to have accompanied Jesus throughout His ministry (reckoned from the baptism) and seen Him after the resurrection. We gather moreover, that Barsabbas (or Justus) and Matthias were only the two selected candidates from a larger number of such persons not included in the favored Eleven.[2] The obscurity into which Matthias at once passes is one shared by most of his colleagues; a fact which should warn us against attributing to the Twelve as such too much influence, as distinct from the leadership of two or three marked personalities. Such "Pillars" were Peter and the sons of Zebedee,[3] to whom must be added James, the Lord's brother. Indeed, ere very long the quasi-dynastic prestige of the blood-relations of Jesus the Messiah came among Jewish Christians to overshadow the standing of all Apostles, save Cephas only (note the ascending scale in 1 Cor. ix. 5).

Of the Pentecostal gift of the Spirit we have already seen the significance. One or two special points, however, invite notice. First as to the attendant gift of "tongues," our narrative plainly points to various languages as blending in this in-

[1] Here the story of Judas' fate is given in a parenthesis (already in Luke's source), and in a form probably less exact than in Matt. xxvii. 5–8: see Ramsay, *St. Paul* 367 f.

[2] Cf. Hort, *Christian Ecclesia* 22 ff., on the term "Apostle" in the Gospels and in Acts.

[3] Gal. ii. 9; cf. Acts iii. 1; xii. 2.

spired utterance. Men differing in speech recognized each his own among the words spoken. But the impression suggested by the *glossolalia* of 1 Cor. xii.–xiv. is of another kind, that namely of ecstatic adoration in praise or prayer, addressed not so much to men as to God. Men cannot follow the speaker who in Spirit is uttering "mysteries" or truths under an obscure form. Hence, Paul contrasts it with "prophecy" which edifies others, whereas "he that speaketh in a tongue[1] edifies but himself"(1 Cor. xiv. 2–4, 28). Purely emotional or inarticulate ejaculations were apt so to get the upper hand as to sacrifice all intelligibility (xiv. 7–9). Against this danger he warns the Corinthians by way of remonstrance. There is a gift of "interpretation" relative to tongues, which may be found in the same person or in another (1 Cor. xii. 10, 28; xiv. 5, 27 f.). And in church-meeting at least, the one gift should not be exercised apart from the presence of the other; else would there be no general benefit; especially as tongues are for a sign to unbelievers rather than for believers, and the former would be apt to scoff at the phenomena as mere madness unless interpretation followed (xiv. 22, 23).[2]

[1] "Tongue" (γλῶσσα) is here technical for speech distinctive of the spiritual life, just as Greeks used it of "barbarian" speech. The new religious experience did in fact create a new language of its own, one of more immediate speech with God in ecstatic prayer (1 Cor. xiv. 2, 14). It seemed to outsiders a soliloquy; and Paul aimed at keeping the reflective mind (νοῦς) coöperating with the faculty of inspired emotion (πνεῦμα) dominant in *glossolalia*, in order that "interpretation" might be possible (ib. 7–19, 27).

[2] Paul ascribes to a single person "tongues" or "kinds of

The faculty of such interpretation is by Paul treated as a special gift of the Spirit; whereas at Pentecost it is otherwise. And on the whole a broad contrast between the two accounts must be recognized. It is simplest to suppose that from the source used for Acts ii. Luke had gathered that a phenomenon of exceptional nature, namely ecstatic speech in foreign tongues, had inaugurated the Messianic era of the Spirit. In fidelity to his authority he so set it down, feeling that it was generically the same (if specifically different) as the *glossolalia* which he knew from personal experience, and to which he refers several times in his subsequent narrative. The peculiarity of a "tongue" was its ejaculatory, emotional, often abrupt form; accordingly, words in several languages might emerge, in moments when reflection was in abeyance, seeing that many early Christians were at least bilingual or trilingual. Hence the two conceptions are not quite mutually exclusive, if in part based on different aspects of the *glossolalia*.[1] But we cannot hesitate for a moment in declaring for Paul's description as reflecting the normal facts touching the "gift of tongues" in the Apostolic Age: and it is hard to believe, in view of the back-references in Acts x. 46 f., xi. 15 (where the source used is probably

tongues" (xiii. 1; xiv. 10), possibly alluding to the respective forms of prayer, praise (*Ψαλμός*), thanksgiving (*εὐλογία*), distinguished in ch. xiv. 13–16.

[1] "Jesus—*anathema*," "Jesus—Lord," "Our Lord cometh" (*Maran atha*), "*Abba*, Father," such ejaculatory utterances—sometimes, perhaps, the result of a thought breaking suddenly on the soul—contribute something to our knowledge of the facts.

different), that the Pentecostal form of it was really as unique as has usually been assumed. Paul himself quotes the prophecy about God's speaking to His people "by men of strange tongues" as exemplified in principle by *glossolalia*. And it is quite possible that in time confusion arose between the two senses of the word "strange," and that this has crept into the account in Acts. The fact at the bottom of *glossolalia* in any form was one and the same. In it men were raised above their normal selves by a divine impulse. And this is the feature to which Peter's argument appeals in citing Joel. The Messianic Age was to be essentially the age of the Spirit present in the whole people. And it is of the first importance to bear this conception in mind throughout: otherwise the genius of Apostolic Christianity and its usages cannot be grasped. Peter's speech is full of traditional Messianic conceptions. These still, as for long after, overlaid in the minds of the disciples certain things most distinctive of Jesus, their Messiah, and so hindered the full effect of His Spirit upon their thoughts and ideals. The categories through which they viewed Him officially, as distinct from their memory of His personality and ways, they held in common with their unconverted hearers. And so the violent and catastrophic note prevails in Peter's discourse. His standpoint is very much that of a prophecy like Malachi, with its searching Messenger of the Covenant, who should work as a refiner's fire among the people, consuming the dross and gathering the true Israel into a yet closer relation. Such a Messianic community would in

truth be Jehovah's "Kingdom," a theocracy to which all the Gentiles should be subject in one way or another. This coalesces with the picture of the Davidic Messiah set forth in certain Psalms. Final deliverance from death and corruption (Ps. xvi.) and exaltation at God's right hand of power (Ps. cx.) are realized in the resurrection and ascension of Jesus of Nazareth. And so the burden of Peter's words as reported, and of the "other words besides" (v. 40), was "Save yourselves from this crooked generation." In this light must we view the call, "Repent and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, unto remission of sins and the reception of the royal bounty in the form of the Holy Spirit." Baptism here means the washing away of the stains of the sinful past (xxii. 16), repented of and forgiven in the name of Jesus Messiah. This forgiveness is viewed as ratified by the gracious gift of the Spirit, wherewith the heavenly King pledges His favor restored to those who yield themselves in penitent homage unto obedience of faith. Such elect souls were then added to the existing community or fellowship—the nucleus of regenerate Israel: and the life of close communion thus begun is summarized in the statement that "they were attending steadfastly upon the Apostles' teaching and upon the fellowship—the breaking of (the) bread and the prayers." By "the breaking of bread" is meant a meal of Communion, the primitive form of Eucharistic service, "an expressive act by which the unity of the many as partakers of the one Divine sustenance (life) is signified." So close indeed was their sense of oneness in interest, their

spiritual family-feeling, that "the believers in fellowship" (ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ) observed in fact community in the use of their goods; where there was need, there at once was supply; and that by no constraint other than that of loving sympathy. Nor did they withdraw from the wonted forms of Jewish piety, but rather filled them to the full with their new-found enthusiasm of glad motive. They haunted the Temple; they also in home-gatherings broke the bread of sacred fellowship, so finding an exultant joy in their very food, with praise to God the Giver of all, both physical and spiritual. And that they did not loosen any tie binding them to Jewish piety, is shown by the fact that they were in favor with the whole people and had constant accessions to the safe haven of their fellowship (vv.43–47).

What then are we to think of such a relation to Judaism, in the light of their Master's own principles and inner spirit? We must distinguish sharply between practice and mental attitude. In the former respect they were in perfect continuity with the path pursued by Jesus Himself; and there is nothing to show that He would have had them act otherwise. But as regards religious outlook, the contrast is more noteworthy even than the likeness. Not that Jesus had taken up a formally critical or negative attitude either to the Mosaic Law or to the Messianic ideal of His day: but His spirit in relation to both was none the less above the thoughts of the Judæo-Christian mind. Christ was the "fulfiller" of the Law and the Prophets, "in that He sought to give

effect to their true purpose and inner meaning. He indicated that for Himself and His true disciples the old form of the Law had ceased to be binding; but He did not disobey its precepts or even the precepts of tradition, or encourage His disciples to do so, except in so far as obedience would have promoted that Pharisaic misuse of the Law and of tradition alike which called for His warmest denunciations. Nay, He did homage to that (for its time) right service of the old order which was represented by John the Baptist, though He at the same time proclaimed its entirely lower and transitory character. . . . The fundamental point, a fulfilment of the Law which was not a literal retention of it as a code of commandments, was, as it is still, a conception hard to grasp: it was easier either to perpetuate the conditions of the old covenant or else to blaspheme them.[1] Again, there was ample matter for apparent contradiction in *the necessity for a time of transition*, during which the old order would live on by the side of the new, not Divinely deprived of its ancient sanctity, and yet laid under a Divine warning of not distant extinction. . . . The great point to remember is, that it was hardly possible for either aspect (of Christ's attitude) to be forgotten in men's recollections of the original Gospel at any period of the Apostolic Age, however vaguely and confusedly both might be apprehended."[2]

[1] The *media via* here marked out underlies the well-known saying in *Codex Bezæ*, addressed to a man found working in the field on the Sabbath: "O man, if thou knowest what thou doest, blessed art thou; but if thou knowest not, accursed art thou and a transgressor of the Law."

[2] Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, 36–38.

Some difficulty has not unreasonably been felt about the large numbers into which the Church leaped suddenly, here some 3,000, and a little later some 5,000 men alone (iv. 4). Would not so large and striking a movement have forthwith caused serious friction with the authorities? But there was as yet no formal Church to mark off all believers in Jesus as Messiah from their fellows; their orthodoxy of practice would at once contribute to their numbers and protect them from persecution. And indeed, until they threatened public order by the marked excitement caused by such deeds and words as are next recorded, they had as much right to be as any other sect in Judaism. Still it is likely that in the picture just given (apart from the 3,000) Luke anticipates somewhat, as is allowable in a summary.

(*b*) *Days of Friction* (Acts iii.–v.).

Our author having just referred to "wonders and signs" as wrought through the Apostles (ii. 43), now proceeds in Chapter iii. to cite an instance, the healing of the lame man at the gate of the Temple called "Beautiful." His account is not only most vivid, but also witnesses indirectly to the correct Jewish piety of the Apostles as regards Temple-worship and due hours of prayer.[1] The reference to Solomon's Porch as the spot where Peter gave his second address, in explanation of this miracle, is a mark of originality; and the speech itself, which is full of Hebraic touches, may be considered typical

[1] "To observe the hour of prayer, the ninth hour" (iii. 1), *i. e.*, 3 P. M.

of the line taken in the preaching of these early days. As such it contains certain phrases highly expressive of the community's faith touching Jesus, now felt more than in the days of His flesh to be "the pioneer Leader of life." It is His Name, declarative of His Messianic office, that is the ground of the faith whereon turned the act of power just accomplished. On condition of penitent turning unto the Lord (cf. ix. 35) for the cancelling of past sins, especially as indicated in its late rejection of Jesus, the nation is promised "seasons of restoration from the presence of the Lord" and the return of the Christ prepared for them, namely Jesus, who is now in heaven awaiting the times of restitution (cf. i. 6) of all things whereof God had spoken through His prophets from the first. Jesus is the "Servant" of Jehovah, the Prophet, whom God through Moses promised to raise up, with a view to blessing all nations according to the covenant with Abraham. It was to them first of all that Jesus had been sent in His earthly ministry, to bless them in turning each away from his sins. And then Peter was about to add that, if even now they would turn to Him and accept the Messianic blessing for Israel, all would yet be well.[1] But he was interrupted by the arrival of the captain of the Temple, himself a priest of high rank, and the Sadducees, who were "distressed" at their ventur-

[1] How exactly on the lines of Is. xl. ff. is this preaching. There "the Servant of Jehovah, *i. e.*, the company of religious teachers which formed the kernel of the Jewish people, was to convert, first, lukewarm or indifferent Jews, and then the other nations to the true religion" (Cheyne, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, 216).

ing to teach the people and proclaim in Jesus the resurrection from the dead.

This arrest, both as to its date and the motive assigned to it, raises some questions touching the early chapters of Acts, and must be examined in detail. When we place ourselves resolutely back in these early days, several things become clear. There was in the first instance no reason why the disciples, devout Jews in their practice, should not add some distinctive beliefs to those generally received. There were several sects of this sort within Judaism, of which the Essenes were an extreme instance. These men were tolerated even in certain non-conforming features, such as repudiation of animal sacrifice, which led to absence from the Temple feasts. But this was largely because their aloofness from the centres of population made them no danger to national religious life or public order. Similarly, as long as the disciples of Jesus did not attract too much attention, they were in no great danger of being molested simply because they chose to believe and declare their belief in One who had been publicly crucified not long since. But once let them engross popular attention beyond a given point, and they became an annoyance to the authorities both in Church and State, and their right to teach in public places was like to be challenged. And so it came about. The healing of the lame man brought things to a head, by adding popular excitement to their wonted testimony. Hence the Temple authorities challenged their right to collect a crowd by their teaching within the very precincts of the authorized reli-

gion.[1] It was quite natural that such opposition should come from the ruling priestly order rather than the Pharisees, whose sphere was the synagogue; and the exact enumeration of several of the high-priestly clan in Chapter iv. 6 gives additional verisimilitude to the narrative. Some, however, regard the specification of the Resurrection as the burden of this unauthorized "teaching" (iv. 2), as due to Luke rather than to his source, on the ground that "the Sadducees were not bigoted theologians who desired to stop the mouths of all that differed with them." But surely their "creating too much of an excitement in the city" by their teaching cannot be separated from its distinctive note, the Resurrection, which was not proclaimed as an abstract dogma, but as true of Jesus in particular, to whom everything, the recent miracle of healing for instance, was constantly being referred. In other words the belief in the Resurrection of Jesus was the root of the fact of the preaching and of its results.

The object, then, of the authorities was, without entering formally into the content of their preaching, to curtail their freedom of public speech in the interest of the existing order; especially as belief in a Messiah who had risen, and might reappear at any time, was apt to produce just that unsettlement which would bring the Procurator down heavily on the authorities. Hence their challenge as to the power or person authorizing such exciting teaching (iv. 7). To this Peter's reply is that the warrant lay in Israel's Messiah, Jesus of Nazareth, a proof of

[1] Much as they had challenged their Master's right, Luke xx. 1.

whose power stood before them in the person of the man now restored by faith in His name and office. "The Salvation" (*ἡ σωτηρία*, v. 12), the Messianic Deliverance from all evils for which Israel was looking, was to be found in Him and no other (9–12). Struck by the confident tone of these unlettered men, the authorities "took fresh cognizance of the fact that they had been companions of Jesus," whose person and fate would be still fresh in their memory. Their difficulty in taking action lay in the fact that a man had been marvelously restored; and to punish his benefactors would be likely to create yet further excitement among the populace (cf. 21 f.). So, following the policy natural to men in office but not strong in the regard of their countrymen, namely that the chapter of accidents is on the side of those who wait, they gave them an official warning against speaking any more "in this Name," and hoped that the matter would go no further. Peter and John gave them no encouragement in their official optimism, telling them it was a matter not of technical training but of simple witness to facts. And being dismissed with a final word of warning, they betook themselves forthwith to their friends. The incident had one marked result: it made the populace more shy of gathering around the Christians within the Temple precincts (v. 13).

On return to their own special circle, they reported the authorities' words, and then with one soul turned to prayer for strength to obey God rather than man. They express their confidence that the Sovereign Lord of all things, who had in

prophecy foretold such enmity to Himself and His Anointed, held all in His hand. Foreigners and fellow countrymen alike had wrought their will against His "Holy Servant Jesus," His "Anointed One." But nothing lay outside His fixed counsel. And so, looking past the threats, they craved the grace of "boldness of speech" in speaking God's message, as also His manifest support in healings, signs, and wonders, wrought "through the Name of His Holy Servant, Jesus."[1] Their prayer was answered by a fresh experience of the Holy Spirit's present power, resulting in the needful "boldness" to continue their preaching. On the other hand the mass of believers were as united in heart and soul as at the first, so exhibiting in their way also tokens of the Holy Spirit in their midst. For selfish egoism was swallowed up of the love that counted "mine" as also "thine" among true brethren. So, supported by rank and file, "the commissioned witnesses of the Lord Jesus" discharged their witness touching the Resurrection with great power; while great grace was poured out upon them all. Insomuch that those who possessed land or house property sold it, to bring the proceeds and place them at the Apostles' disposal: and under their direction the actual wants of each were met as they arose.[2] In this yielding of

[1] The archaic type of this prayer will appear yet more clearly when we reach the prayers in the *Didaché*.

[2] Hort (*Christian Ecclesia*, 46) sees in this the hint of a "fresh impulse towards consolidation," due to a new sense that they too were called to endure the same opposition which by God's providence had befallen their Messiah. Hence the notice of their corporate spirit is no otiose repetition of ii. 44 f., but represents advance of

one's wealth outright to the community, Joseph, who received from the Apostles the surname of Barnabas "son of Consolation" (possibly in memory of this helpful deed), a Levite of Cypriot birth, set the most notable example. Over against him, however, in the tradition of the community, stood in black colors the figures of Ananias and his wife Sapphira, as typical cases of insincerity the more shocking in proportion to the atmosphere of manifested Spirit-power in which they were then living. They "lied to the Holy Spirit" dwelling in and with the Apostles. The words of Peter are evidence that there was no strict communism, but simply "a voluntary and variable contribution" to a common stock on a large scale. The individual was not merged in the community. But the fact that the new community was attaining a fresh distinctness and cohesion in the consciousness both of those within and those without, seems suggested (in Luke's subtle, allusive way) by the use for the first time of the term "Church" (*ecclesia*), in the remark that "great fear came upon all the *ecclesia* and upon all that heard of these things" (v. 11).[1]

Thus, once more, a description of the developing community suggests itself to the writer. He refers

organization in their common life of love. Charity became centralized, as it were, instead of being exercised by each man informally to his needy neighbor. It also serves to introduce the story of Ananias and Sapphira.

[1] The historicity of this section has been questioned as much as that of any in Acts. But the circumstantiality of the names is against its being "a moral apologue." There is nothing incredible in deaths caused by shock at such a solemn exposure of deceit. It is incorrect to represent the narrative as implying that Peter imprecated death on them.

to the fulfilment of the prayer of the Apostolic circle in the wonders wrought among the people through their instrumentality. And then he describes the believers as more clearly differentiated from others, as they congregated for teaching in Solomon's Porch —"the great arcade reaching along the whole east side of the vast Temple precinct." Outsiders, however, held aloof from their company in public, on account of the former descent of the authorities. Still the people admired them; nay rather, there were constantly being added to them believers on the Lord, numbers both of men and women. So much so, that the sick were brought forth into the streets on couches in the hope that Peter's passing shadow might perchance fall upon some one of them —a mode of statement that suggests no countenance of the practice on Peter's part. Even the populace in the neighboring towns were beginning to bring their sick and possessed. This extension to the adjacent country was a new feature.

Such popularity was too much for the Jewish authorities. The High Priest and his party, the Sadducees, were filled with jealousy—possibly also with fear of Roman interference. They had already cautioned them: so now they imprisoned the Apostles in the public jail.[1] The Apostles are brought before

[1] Their release by an angel is probably a secondary feature in the source on which our author draws. It looks like the double of Peter's release in ch. xii.; but the special ground for suspicion is that here the deliverance is not effectual, serving only to enhance the reader's sense that the authorities were fighting against God. "The words of this life" is a primitive Christian phrase, of a piece with "the Leader of Life" (iii. 15) and pointing behind Luke to a Judæo-Christian source.

"the Sanhedrin and the whole senate of the sons of Israel." The High Priest's remonstrance recalls the warning of Chapter iv. 18. He says, "We strictly charged you not to teach on the warrant of this Name: and lo! ye have filled Jerusalem with your teaching, and are for making us responsible for the blood of this man."

Again the Apostolic appeal is to God, the God who in raising Jesus had cancelled the curse of crucifixion at their hands. "Him God had by His right hand raised as Leader and Saviour, to give repentance to Israel and remission of sins": whereof they were witnesses, as well as the Holy Spirit which God had given—a supreme Messianic gift—to those who were yielding Him obedience. This was a line of reply most galling to the Sadducaic party, who would fain have done away with such folk. But the Pharisee Gamaliel, Paul's master, counselled self-restraint on the ground that false Messiahs and their adherents always came to a speedy end, if left alone. So had it been with Theudas, and so with Judas of Galilee. So too would it be with these men, if God was not behind them.[1] Gamaliel's counsel prevailed. And

[1] There is a difficulty about Theudas. The only one known to history (through Josephus Ant. xx. 5, 1) arose under Cuspius Fadus. *c.* 45 A. D., while this one seems to have lived some time before our date (*c.* 30–33), or rather before Judas of Galilee (the Gaulonite, of Gamala, Jos. Ant. xviii. 1, 1 ff., cf. xx. 5, 2. B. J. ii. 8, 1), who rose in the days of "the enrolment" under Quirinius, about the time of the Christian era. But our knowledge of the many false Messiahs is so imperfect that we must leave the difficulty unsolved, judging it meantime in the light of our general estimate of Luke as a careful historian. See Luke xiii. 1; Mark xv. 7, cf. Luke xxiii. 19, for instances of troubles under

with the extra deterrent of scourging, they were again charged not to speak in Jesus' name and dismissed, glorying in the honor of dishonor "for the Name." But in no way did the Apostles cease teaching and announcing as good news the Messiahship of Jesus, both in the Temple and in private houses. "It is at this point that the preaching of Stephen opens new horizons and leads to a new course of events."

(*c*) *Stephen and Persecution* (Acts vi.–viii. 3).

The Hebraic phrase "in those days" with which Chapter vi. opens does not help us much chronologically (cf. i. 15; ix. 37; xi. 27); but the "disciples" (here so called for the first time in Acts[1]) were at any rate becoming numerous, though apparently not beyond the possibility of some sort of common meeting on special occasion (v. 2). Of organization proper we have so far had little trace; and it is doubtful whether there were even "elders" in any official sense in the Messianic community. We have no evidence that its differentiation from Judaism in general had as yet gone so far; and besides, to them would naturally have fallen the ministry (cf. xi. 30)

Pilate of which we have only the most casual knowledge. Ramsay discusses the matter afresh in his last book (*Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* 252 ff.). He reinforces his distinction between the census (during Quirinius' special mission in Syria) taken by Herod and that taken by Quirinius, and claims that Luke should be trusted.

[1] A mark perhaps of a new document: it occurs three times in seven verses, and seven times in ch. ix. Barnabas, Philip, or Mark, may be suggested as possible authors.

devolved on "the Seven," as recorded in the verses which follow. The believing Hellenists or Greek-speaking Jews[1] settled in Jerusalem, whose proportion to the whole body of believers is obscure, were complaining that the widows among them were neglected in the daily ministration of relief, in comparison with the widows of native Jews who would be better known and possibly more highly esteemed in the community at large.[2] But whatever native prejudice may have existed, the Twelve (only here so described in Acts, *cf.* the Eleven in i. 26; ii. 14) were superior to it and, as on several subsequent occasions, acted as a unifying and comprehensive factor in the development of the Christian *Ecclesia*. They now convened the body of the disciples, and proposed the creation of a special board for the administration of the collective charity. They were themselves loath to turn aside from their proper ministry of "the Word of God" to that of "tables." Hence they bade the "brethren" choose seven men of good repute, "full of Spirit and of wisdom," for them to institute "over this need" in their stead, by the usual Jewish form of *Semichah*, the laying on of hands accompanying the appointment of a Rabbi and

[1] Hort (*Jud. Chr.* 48) remarks that "possibly a proselyte might also be called a Hellenist with reference to his language"; cf. Nicolaus in v. 5.

[2] "In Judæa the use of the Hebrew language was regarded as a symbol of patriotism and zeal, that of the Greek as a token of foreign sympathies. The Hellenists were therefore an unpopular minority in Jerusalem, engaged for the most part either in the service of the Roman government or in foreign commerce and the affairs of Jewish colonies abroad" (Rendall, *ad. loc.*).

admission to the Sanhedrin. The multitude agreed and presented "Stephen, a man full of faith and Holy Spirit," and Philip and Prochorus and Nicanor and Timon and Parmenas and Nicolaus, a proselyte of Antiochene origin—a list notable for its apparently uniform Hellenist character. But in any case the notable thing is that Hellenists and Hebrews were formally recognized as on one footing. The persecution that ere long arose, through Stephen's preaching, seems to have dispersed the board of Seven. Accordingly when Barnabas and Paul go up with relief from Antioch in xi. 30, it is to the "elders" of the community, now organized in its distinctness on the usual Jewish lines, that they formally present the gift. Philip is indeed styled one of "the Seven" in Acts. xxi. 8, as well as "the Evangelist." But the Seven are not called "Deacons," nor were they strictly the first of the class later so described in connection with the Pauline churches.

In this important narrative, then, we see the *Ecclesia* passing into more organic being. There is now some differentiation of functions; and a share of responsibility rests upon the members at large, as having selected the new functionaries. Hence our author once more marks progress by a general statement, that "the Word of God continued to grow and the number of the disciples was multiplying in Jerusalem exceedingly; and a great multitude of the priests (getting over their fear) were yielding obedience to the faith"—a new feature in the situation.

The wider outlook of Hellenistic Jews would tend to give fresh emphasis to the less Judaic side of their common faith. And this we see in the lead taken by Stephen, whose spiritual power of every kind soon made him a marked man for friend and foe alike. Himself probably a member of one of the synagogues frequented by Hellenists from places like Cyrene and Alexandria[1] in the South, from Cilicia and Proconsular Asia in the North of the Levant (such as Saul of Tarsus may well have worshipped in), Stephen now drew upon himself by his powerful preaching the opposition of his fellow Hellenists, probably anxious to show themselves not a whit behind native Hebrews in zeal for the religion of their fathers. The charge against him was like that brought against Jesus himself; and though in either case the words alleged were probably garbled in a sense, yet there was enough in them to justify the feeling that they meant so unwonted an attitude to Mosaism as to appear blasphemous. For the appeal was to the prophetic instead of the scribal conception of the Law and of God. A great stir arose: and this time it was "the people and the elders and the Scribes," even more than the priests and Sadducees, who were affected. Stephen was seized, brought before the Sanhedrin, and there confronted

[1] Our MSS. place first "the synagogue of the Freedmen" (*Libertini*), *i. e.*, men once slaves in the Roman world or at least of servile origin, but now free. These would certainly form a considerable body, probably of men once resident in Italy. Blass suggests that we should read "Libyans" (*Λιβυστῖνοι*), the geographical neighbors of the Cyrenians. But why, then, are Roman Hellenists omitted entirely?

by witnesses whose falsity lay in the sinister turn they gave to certain words he had used. Quite possibly he had quoted the words of Jesus touching the destruction of the Temple and city as sure to be fulfilled should the nation persistently refuse its Messiah. But he had implied no disrespect for Temple or Law, which the whole Christian community honored by strictest obedience. He simply spoke in the spirit of the great prophets, saying that such privileges did not tie Jehovah's hands from punishing stiffneckedness in His people: and if once before by the destruction of a temple, why not again, if needful?

This is the tone of his defence, which dwells upon the changing and progressive forms under which the Covenant relation of Jehovah and His people had been conserved through many dark days in their past history. His speech is a philosophy of Israel's religious history in the prophetic manner: and it is most significant that he goes back, beyond the Law, to the Promise given to Abraham, making it the basis of all—as in Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews later on. Even Moses they had treated badly when he brought them God's message of deliverance; they had failed to use the institutions of Mosaism: and now they were rejecting the greater than Moses, Messiah, in whom the "living oracles" of God were yet more fully offered to them. The Temple itself could not guarantee God's favor and presence, as Isaiah lxvi. 1 f. warned them. If they were resisting the higher light, they were resisting the Holy Spirit, as their fathers had so often done; and that cancelled all

privilege. This charge he pressed home in Biblical language of great force and vehemence, asking which of the prophets had not been persecuted by their fathers, the slayers of those who foretold the coming of the Righteous One, whose death he now laid to their own charge. As a climax, he retorted the accusation levelled at himself; "men who received the Law as heaven-given ordinances, and kept it not!" The moral to be drawn from past and present was the same—God's Law holy and spiritual, Israel carnal and obstinate in its trust in the externals of its worship. Doubtless another shaking of the forms that seemed so inviolable was at hand.[1]

Whether Stephen had finished or not, it was the last sentence they would suffer him to speak. Stung by his piercing speech, the enraged Sanhedrin, treating his rapt words, "Lo! I behold the heavens opened and the Son of Man[2] standing on the right hand of God," as yet more blasphemy, hurried him forth from the city and stoned him. The proceedings, though in correct Jewish form (cf. Lev. xxiv. 14–16; Deut. xvii. 7), were tumultuary in character,

[1] McGiffert, *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age* (85 ff.), justly observes that such a speech, making no reference to the abrogation of the Law or the calling of the Gentiles, must be based on an authentic report.

[2] This title, though unique outside the Gospels, seems to be used by Stephen with allusion to Dan. vii. 13, even as Jesus may have used it in Luke xxii. 69, so incurring the charge of blasphemy. In any case it is a watermark of a Judæo-Christian source behind the Acts (cf. James' use of it at his martyrdom, as reported by Hegesippus), and should check hasty inferences from the Gospels, *e. g.*, that it was a title used by Jesus of Himself but not by the early Christians of Him.

seeing that the death penalty was reserved to the Roman governor. The great excitement sufficiently explains the act: and there may have been special conditions in respect to the procurator of the day (Pilate), which made it easier than usual to get their temerity condoned.[1]

The day had been a momentous one for the future of the Church, soon to be no longer merely "the Church in Jerusalem" (viii. 1). Upon it fell fresh suspicion of revolutionary and blasphemous belief, through the boldly aggressive way in which Stephen had, for the first time, made explicit what was involved in faith in Jesus as Messiah, over against the existing state of Jewish religion. They seemed now not only a troublesome sect, but an heretical one of radical tendencies. Hence persecution followed, so violent as to produce a general scattering for a time from Jerusalem, particularly of the Hellenistic wing known to be in closest connection with Stephen. And Luke notices anticipatorily that the young Saul, who had been present at and sympathizing in Stephen's death, was foremost in these repressive measures.

(*d*) *Further Extension* (Acts viii. 4–xi. 18).

The sphere affected by this dispersion was primarily Palestine, namely Judæa in the larger or Roman sense (including Galilee and Peræa, see i. 8, ix. 31,

[1] Compare the parallel case of James, the Lord's brother, who was killed probably about 62 A. D. Pilate, who was deposed before Easter, 36 A. D., was certainly in rather a weak position in the last years of his office.

cf. Luke vii. 17, iv. 44) and Samaria. The first part of the historian's programme, that touching the fortunes of the Gospel in Jerusalem itself (i. 8), is now at an end. Hence he begins forthwith to relate the extension of the Church rendered possible by the scattering, which must have reinforced the beginnings already existing up and down Judæa, and even, as it seems, in Damascus (ix. 2).

Luke first describes the evangelization in Samaria (perhaps derived from Philip himself, cf. xxi. 8). The Samaritans, though a people of mixed blood, observed the Jewish religion in an undeveloped form, and hence were not treated as complete aliens. Philip's work then did not involve any breach of Jewish law, only a widening of sympathy as compared with average Jewish prejudices. The Messianic hope existed among them in some form (John iv. 25) and presented a point of contact possibly rendered the more effective by some memory of Jesus as having passed through their land not long since. Works of power further prepared the way; and Philip's gospel touching the "Kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ" found a ready response, both men and women accepting baptism unto Messiah's name. The news created some stir at Jerusalem as involving a new departure and so seeming to require formal Apostolic sanction. To this end Peter and John were sent to the scene; and finding that the token of full membership in the New Israel, the manifested Holy Spirit power, was as yet lacking to these converts, prayed that this Divine sanction might seal their election by God (cf. x. 44–48).

Then, as they laid on their hands, to symbolize the heavenly act of blessing, as was seemingly usual (cf. Ananias in the case of Paul, ix. 17, also xix. 6, 7), the Samaritans began to show the wonted signs of the Spirit.[1] This excited the professional ambition of a certain Simon who prior to becoming a convert had plied the calling of a *magus* or magician of great repute among the whole Samaritan race, "giving out that himself was some Great One"—even "the Power of God that goes by the name of Great" (ἡ *Δύναμις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ καλουμένη Μεγάλη*, v. 10). Accordingly, in the unethical spirit characteristic of heathen religions, this man proposed to buy from the Apostles a share in such a showy gift as he conceived them to possess in their own right: but only to call forth Peter's indignant rebuke of that form of impiety which has since been called "Simony."[2] "After delivering their full testimony and speaking the Word of the Lord," the Apostles "returned to Jerusalem, evangelizing as they went many villages of the Samaritans."

For Philip, however, a yet further piece of service in the enlargement of the Church's bounds was reserved. His baptism of the Ethiopian court official

[1] Why this had not occurred already at their baptism, as was obviously the case (without any Apostolic intervention) with the converts at Antioch a little later (xi. 20 ff.), is not quite clear. The idea seems to be that this full proof that the Messianic Salvation was available beyond Israel as such, was associated with the ministry of those to whom the opening of the Kingdom was first entrusted.

[2] Simon's subsequent career, according to tradition, took the form of rivalry to the Messiahship of Jesus to whom he had once professed adhesion.

or Eunuch represented an advance on the case of a proselyte like Nicolaus: for the latter was fully incorporated in the Jerusalem community, where proselytes were but an element absorbed in the central body; whereas this detached proselyte would now stand by himself as a distant member of the *Ecclesia*. The distinction may be little to us: but to Jews it was otherwise. For the conception of Jerusalem as the sacred hearth of Israel, to which even Jews beyond Palestine belonged in idea—a fact witnessed to by their visits to the Feasts—was still a reality in pious Jewish minds. Hence by the baptism of this man the New *Ecclesia* took another step toward the full ideality or spiritual unity which it attains in the Pauline epistles. But the step was not as important as that in the case of Cornelius, to which accordingly far greater emphasis is given. Two points may be noted in passing: (1) the use of Is. liii. as a Messianic passage with a redemptive bearing, of which the gospels contain hints: (2) the fact that this proselyte took baptism into the Messianic Kingdom as quite a natural thing. This must be borne in mind in interpreting primitive baptism.

Philip's parting from the Eunuch is described in a way that seems moulded on Old Testament models:[1] and Azotus (Ashdod) becomes his fresh point of departure. Thence he made a tour of the cities in that region (the Maritime Plain) until he reached Cæsarea, the political capital, where we find him residing

[1] *E. g.*, Ezekiel xi. 24, "And the spirit lifted me up, and brought me in the vision by the spirit of God into Chaldæa"; cf. iii. 12, 14; 1 Kings xviii. 12; 2 Kings ii. 1, 16.

some twenty-five years later (xxi. 8). Among traces of his labors we may reckon "the saints" at Lydda and "the disciples" at Joppa visited by Peter on a tour of inspection (ix. 32 ff.).

Meantime Luke's narrative doubles back to record the most momentous event in the history of Apostolic Christianity, the conversion of Saul the Pharisee, whom it left in the full fervor of his persecuting zeal at Jerusalem (viii. 3). To use his own words in Galatians, (i. 24), Saul was bent on "making havoc" of the new faith, being persuaded that it was his duty to do many things hostile to the name of Jesus of Nazareth. Accordingly he shut up many of the Saints in prisons, having received such authority as belonged to the high-priestly rulers; he tried to compel many to blaspheme the name of Jesus by pains and penalties inflicted in many a synagogue; and even voted for the extreme penalty of death where this was feasible. But not content with smiting the heretics, both men and women, in their headquarters, his fury impelled him to pursue them even beyond Judæa, to foreign cities. Among these Damascus would naturally be chief. And so to Damascus Saul hied, with full commission from the high priests in letters to their "brethren" at the head of the synagogues in Damascus, in order to bring such of the heretical "way" as he might find to Jerusalem for punishment (xxvi. 9–12; xxii. 5, 19; ix. 2). Possibly it was fugitives from Jerusalem that Saul had mainly in view. But in any case it does not seem that there was as yet any organized Christian life in Damascus (ix. 2; xxii. 12).

Into the personal details of Saul's conversion we shall have to enter subsequently in connection with his special religious history. Here we have only to notice its sequel, so far as it enters at once into the general stream of the Christian Mission. After he had responded to Ananias' appeal to arise and by accepting baptism wash away his sins, invoking the name of Jesus as Messiah (xxii. 16), and had recovered both sight and strength after the tremendous strain through which he had just passed, the converted Pharisee retired into the adjacent sparsely inhabited region to the south-southeast, called vaguely Arabia.[1] He probably wished to let the sensation of his conversion subside before attempting to deliver his witness: but we may also surmise a personal necessity created by his new experience itself. The Spirit was driving Saul, like his Master before him, into solitude; where alone and undistracted he faced the full issues involved in the great revelation to his soul of Jesus as Messiah or God's true Son (Gal. i. 16). He withdrew to settle his future with his God and with his new Lord. This done, but not till then,[2] he could return to Damascus and begin a ministry of some two years in its synagogues, the burden of

[1] Damascus was at this time or soon after in the hands of the Arabian King whose seat was at Petra.

[2] This sequence is settled by the "straightway" of Gal. i. 16, to which Acts ix. 20 must bend. Ramsay observes (p. 380) that Luke is not strong on the temporal relations of events: and Paul's withdrawal from the city had a purely personal significance, and so may well have escaped the knowledge of one who was interested primarily in the public progress of the Gospel. Acts ix. 19, 20, could however hardly have been written by one familiar with the Epistle to the Galatians.

which was "Jesus is the Son of God" (Acts ix. 20) —to the amazement of all cognizant of his past. His argument for the Messiahship of Jesus continued to gain fresh force and cogency for Jewish minds: so much so, that after a time (some two years or so after his conversion) his life came into imminent danger. The Jews, as he tells us in 2 Cor. xi. 32 f., obtained the coöperation of King Aretas' representative and so were able to secure the city gates against his flight, whether by day or night. So that the bold preacher was driven to the humiliation of making his escape in a basket lowered from the city wall. He now betook himself to Jerusalem, for the first time as a Christian, feeling the present a good opportunity of sounding Peter,[1] the recognized authority on his Lord's life and words. Doubtless his desire for conference related not only to historical facts of which Peter was the leading witness, but also to matters of policy touching the future of the Church. Barnabas, quite possibly an old associate, both being Hellenists, seems to have been of service to Saul in the end he had in view. And though most of the Apostles appear to have been absent, a good understanding was established with the two chief men of the Church, Peter and James the Lord's brother (Gal. i. 18 f.). This understanding was as an anchor that bore all the strain and stress of parties in the days that were to come, and so was of priceless value for the union of Jew and Gentile

[1] So Gal. i. 18, which gives the inner side, Paul's own purpose; whereas Acts (ix. 26 f.) in its vague use of the classes "disciples," and "apostles," gives only the popular account of the visit.

in one Church of Christ. Saul's stay was, however, very brief; only a fortnight. Accordingly when he departed to the regions of Syria and Cilicia, he was on his own testimony (Gal. i. 21 ff.) "unknown by face to the Churches of Judæa that were in Christ."[1] All they knew then and for long after was the common report that their quondam persecutor "was now preaching as good news the faith of which he had once made havoc": and this was enough to cause them to glorify God in his case.[2]

Here the narrative leaves Saul for the present, and returns to the general march of events, with the words: "So the Church throughout all Judæa and Galilee[3] and Samaria had peace (from persecution) being continuously built up; and walking in the fear of their Lord and in the cheer of the Holy Spirit was being ever multiplied."

This is one of our author's summaries, which do not aim at definite harmony with the facts immediately preceding or succeeding, but serve rather to give atmosphere to the epoch in question. It simply

[1] This shows that the present text of Acts xxvi. 20, "and throughout all the country of Judæa" (which is not even Greek as it stands), must be inaccurate.

[2] Acts (ix. 28 f.) implies a rather public ministry in Jerusalem (among the Hellenists in particular), leading to a plot on Saul's life only anticipated by the brethren's hurrying him off to Cæsarea and thence by sea to Tarsus. That Saul had thoughts of "witnessing" in Jerusalem we learn also from xxii. 17 f.; and some abortive attempt is compatible even with Gal. i. 19 ff.

[3] The first hint that Galilee too was a home of Christians. Note also the singular, *the Church*. It is no longer that of Jerusalem merely, and yet it has the unity attaching to Jewish soil, the sphere of the ancient *Ecclesia* whose proper home was the whole land of Israel.

marks progress. Within the era, then, of steady growth throughout Palestine, there occurred a series of events during one of Peter's tours of inspection among the new groups of disciples, the Lord's special "Saints" or consecrated ones,[1] that had recently arisen here and there through ministry such as that of Philip. The first of the series, the cases of Æneas in Lydda and Dorcas in Joppa, simply illustrate the presence and power of God accompanying Peter as leading agent in the building up of the New Commonweal in Palestine. The next case, that of Cornelius, is big with significance for the future, and represents a step forward in principle, even as the Samaritan Mission had meant a former extension in the conception of the New *Ecclesia*. And once more its larger scope is recognized and ratified by men specially entrusted with "the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven," the right to say what classes of men satisfy the condition of genuine Messianic faith.[2] Accordingly the story of Cornelius and his friends merits careful consideration.[3]

Peter was still lingering at Joppa, lodging with one Simon, a tanner; the Galilean fisherman was not punctilious as to Rabbinic views of clean and unclean trades. There he received the momentous

[1] First used in ix. 13. "Members of the Holy *Ecclesia* of Israel were themselves holy by the mere fact of membership; and the prerogative phrase is here boldly transferred to the Christians. . . Its use is the correlative of the term *Ecclesia*" (Hort *Chris. Eccl.* 56).

[2] Matt. xvi. 17–19, cf. xviii. 18, as also Luke xi. 52, Rev. iii. 7, passages which all hark back to the idea in Isaiah xxii. 21, 22.

[3] The repeated references to it (x. 1 ff., xi. 1 ff., xv. 1 ff.), reveal its importance.

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request of Cornelius, a centurion of the Italic[1] cohort forming part of the permanent garrison of Cæsarea, where the Roman procurator resided in the palace built by Herod the Great (who had made the semi-Greek seaport what it then was). Cornelius, though a devout worshipper of the God of Israel, rich in prayers and alms, the distinctive ideal of current Jewish piety, was yet not a full proselyte. He had not, by the rite which marked off Israel as a distinct polity among the nations, become virtually a naturalized Jew. Hence his petition involved a great issue, that of the non-national and purely spiritual basis of Messiah's new community of the righteous. And it seemed unlikely that Peter would see his way to ignore "the middle wall of partition" which severed Jew and Gentile as regards anything like close social intercourse. But the mind of Peter, who was never inclined to magnify matters of form, had already been prepared by a vision which must have brought up older memories of his Master's teaching touching defilement (cf. Mark vii. 14 ff.). In figurative fashion it taught him the relative nature of the distinction between "clean" and "unclean" in a religious sense, as applied to what comes by the accident of birth; seeing that God, the Creator, might will to cancel the line hitherto observed in deference to His prior ordinance,

[1] The existence in Judæa of a cohort of Roman citizens from Italy is out of keeping with the general rule as to the use of auxiliaries, such as the Samaritan cohort in xxvii. 1. But an inscription in Pannonia, dating from 69 A. D., points to the existence of such a band in Syria, and so removes *a priori* improbability: see Ramsay "*Was Christ born at Bethlehem?*" pp. 260 ff.

and sanctify to His own ends any of the creatures of His hand.

Accordingly, when the men arrived, Peter was prepared by the prompting of the Spirit to cast aside all scruples and in sheer obedience to God accompany those who alleged a direct divine mandate in support of their unwonted boldness. Feeling the importance of the occasion, Peter took with him certain of the Joppa Jewish Christians, some six at least (xi. 12), as witnesses of what might occur. He found Cornelius and a number of his closest friends assembled, explained that God had overruled his scruples as to such intimate intercourse with foreigners,[1] and then enquired the reason of his being summoned. Cornelius recounts, with soldierly brevity and emphasis on prompt obedience, his vision during the afternoon hour of prayer: and then Peter confesses the new light that has just fallen on the ways of Israel's God, as a God who "respecteth not persons," in that He now shows His acceptance of men who in His fear work righteousness (cf. v. 2), even though they stop short of circumcision.

The speech which follows is important as a sample

[1] It is to be noted that only the traditional, not the written law, was in question; and the former lay less heavily on a Galilean than on a Judæan. Josephus, Ant. xx. 2, 4, tells how Ananias, the Jewish merchant who won Izates of Adiabene to Judaism, dissuaded him from circumcision as inexpedient in his case, saying "that he might worship God without, even though he did resolve to follow the Jewish law entirely, which worship of God was of a superior nature to circumcision." On the other hand a Galilean Rabbi, Eleazar, took the other line.

of primitive preaching in the historic manner, on lines which remind us of the Petrine Gospel of Mark. God hath sent His message to the sons of Israel, declaring glad peace through Jesus Christ; but Christ and His Lordship are for all. The broad fact of the ministry throughout the whole of Judæa (Jewish territory), following on the baptism preached by John, is familiar; how that Jesus of Nazareth was anointed of God with Holy Spirit power, so that He went about doing beneficent deeds and healing all in the thraldom of the devil; for God was with Him. But the Jews put Him to death as an accursed one, on a tree (cf. Deut. xxi. 22 f.; Gal. iii. 16). Him God raised up on the third day, and gave Him to be manifested, not indeed to all the Jewish people, but to witnesses, even to those afore chosen by God. Their charge was to preach to the Jewish people, and to testify that He it is who hath been designated by God as Judge of living and dead. To Him all the prophets witness, that through His name every one that believeth receiveth thereby forgiveness of sins.

At this critical point, at which the universality of salvation through faith in Messiah is alluded to after the fashion of the Hebrew prophets, the token of its actual fulfilment appeared in the wonted signs of the Holy Spirit's presence. The astonishment of the Jews who had come with Peter was boundless. But he, already better prepared for something of the sort, ordered that baptism, the formal or human seal of membership in the Messianic community, should be added where the Divine had shown the way. Nay more, in the fulness of the new sense of oneness—

the middle wall of partition broken down—he yielded to the entreaty that he would stay as their guest for a season.

The news spread, causing a profound sensation throughout Judæa. And on his return to Jerusalem, Peter was challenged for having accepted Gentile hospitality. His defence was simple and to the point. He told the story of his strange experiences and appealed to the promised Spirit-baptism, the distinctive mark of the New Israel. "If then," he argued, "God has given to them the like boon as also to us, on belief upon the Lord Jesus Christ, who was I, that I should avail to hinder God?" To this there was no answer. Divine facts must be accepted and God glorified in His sovereignty in granting even to Gentiles that change of heart which admitted to the true life. So objection was silenced. But in the light of subsequent events, we cannot infer that all accepted the admission of the uncircumcised, as a class, into the New Israel. Many, possibly the majority, still regarded the case in question as in some way exceptional;[1] assuming perhaps that circumcision would here follow, instead of preceding, Messianic faith,[2] and certainly that this new class of converts would be a small minority hanging upon the skirts of genuine Israel and never attaining such

[1] Possibly our author did not quite realize the exact state of their mind, or he would not have put their sentiment of acquiesence so broadly as in xi. 18.

[2] This is suggested by the attitude of superiority on the part of Jewish believers implied in Gal. ii. 12, 13. It is also the position taken up by the Judaizers whom Paul controverts in Galatians (*e. g.*, iii. 3).

numbers as to constitute a Messianic *ecclesia* in their own right.

These latent reservations come to light through the logic of events, the logic which counted most with the bulk of these primitive Christians. And the chief event of the kind in question was the foundation of a considerable *ecclesia*, no longer on Jewish soil, but in the great city of Antioch, with its mixed population and its cosmopolitan ideals in religion. Here obviously the old problem was bound to recur under new conditions; since there the preponderance of the Jewish element among believers no longer went without saying. Once Judaism began to be swamped, reaction arose.

CHAPTER II.

THE FIELD BROADENS.

(*a*) *Foundation of the Antiochene Church.*

HE connection of the fresh paragraph in Acts, on the beginning of Antiochene Christianity, with what precedes is logical rather than chronological. "Now they who were scattered by the tribulation occasioned by Stephen reached in due course as far as Phœnicia and Cyprus and Antioch, speaking (as a class) the word to none save Jews only. But there were certain of them, men of Cyprus and Cyrene (and so wider in their sympathies), who, when they came to Antioch, spoke also to the Greeks"[1]—naturally those already to some degree in touch with the synagogue. Thus there is continuity of thought with xi. 18, where the extension to the Gentiles is already present in germ.

[1] The antithesis of the two sentences (xi. 19, 20) requires nothing less than this. The balance of MS. authority is in favor of "Hellenists," *i. e.*, Jews of Hellenic or Greek culture. But this may easily be due to assimilation of the first case in Acts in which "Hellenes" occurs, to "Hellenists," which has already occurred twice in somewhat similar contexts (vii. ix. 29). Intrinsic probability makes decidedly for the view taken in the text; as does also the use of "the Lord Jesus," rather than "the Christ Jesus" (see v. 42, where Jews are concerned). "Hebrews" and "Hellenists" may be contrasted (vi. 1); not "Jews" and "Hellenists."

The reception given to the message touching Jesus as Lord was most hearty, and many "turned unto the Lord." When the news reached Jerusalem, the occasion was felt to merit careful consideration: and Barnabas, himself a Cypriot and not one of the Twelve,[1] was despatched to examine this momentous extension of the Messianic community. He was soon satisfied that it was the veritable "grace of God" that was at work, and joyfully encouraged the converts one and all to adhere firmly to their heart's intent, in reliance on the Lord. This attitude, we learn, was quite characteristic of his wonted goodness of heart and inspired insight of faith. Hence when the work continued to spread, Barnabas, feeling the need of an associate of high gifts, bethought himself of his friend Saul, whose recent mission work must have reached his ears, and went to Tarsus in quest of him. Having found him out somewhere in those regions, he returned with him; and together for a whole year they enjoyed the Church's hospitality,[2] and were enabled to instruct a considerable multitude. And then Luke adds a remark indicative of the new bases of union recognizable even to outsiders, in contrast to the way in which a Jewish sect might be regarded. "It was in Antioch that the disciples primarily got the name of

[1] This is noteworthy (in contrast to viii. 14), both as showing the strength of the feeling that Palestine was the strict sphere of the New Israel and so of the Apostles, and as hinting that the local self-direction of the Jewish communities abroad, subject only to a certain loyalty to the Jerusalem authorities, was taken as holding also for the New Israel.

[2] The probable sense of *συναχθῆναι* here, as in Matt. xxv. 35.

Christians"—a word formed on the analogy of party names used by Asiatic Greeks. Gentile observers would take "Christ" to be a proper name, just as later in Rome it was thought that a certain "Chrestus" was fomenting trouble in the Jewish quarter. Hence the name marks the first clear differentiation of Christians from the synagogue: but being at first a nickname, meaning "the partisans of Christ" (cf. xxvi. 28, a rather jesting remark), it seems to have been adopted only gradually by Gentile believers themselves, being first found in use about 63 A. D.[1]

It is probable that the bulk of Jewish Christians in Antioch mixed freely with their Gentile brethren, even to the extent of eating together; since otherwise Peter would hardly have done so on his first coming to Antioch some years later. For after all, the restriction was only a piece of Scribism, the influence of which among Jews long resident in a great Gentile city must have been very secondary. Hence we may imagine the Antiochene *ecclesia* as one in which Jewish exclusiveness had hardly any footing, apart from temporary pressure from Jerusalem (as in Gal. ii. 12, 13). It was a community amid which Paul could move quite at his ease, and was destined ere long to prove itself the mother *ecclesia* of Gentile Christianity, even as Jerusalem had been of Palestinian Christianity. Thus its foundation, rather than the admission of Cornelius, must be held to mark the true beginning of the great Gentile Mission as known to us (in contrast

[1] 1 Peter iv. 16, cf., *Didaché*, xii. 4; Ignatius, *passim*.

to what we may infer touching Saul's earlier labors, Gal. i. 21 ff.); and this was in turn the prelude to the Church's gradual realization of its universal calling. Once more it was the logic of facts bearing the divine impress, and not a deliberately planned aggression on the Gentile world, that led the way to the larger future and opened the eyes of the Judæo-Christian Church, as it had hitherto been, to the counsels of God touching the fulness of the Gentiles as included in Messiah's heritage.

But though differing from the first in respect to the primarily Jewish and Gentile character attaching to them respectively, the *ecclesiæ* of Jerusalem and Antioch were at the same time on terms of sisterly charity. This found expression in very practical form on the occasion of a famine, which fell on Judæan Christians the more heavily that among them "the poor saints" seem to have been in a large majority. The generosity of the Antiochene Christians was prepared beforehand, through the visit of certain "prophets" or highly gifted preachers belonging to the Mother Church. Of these, one, Agabus by name, rose amid the assembled brethren[1] and indicated through the Spirit the approach of

[1] In Codex Bezæ, supported by Augustine, *Serm. dom.* 2, there is an addition to v. 27: "And there was much exultation. Now when *we* were assembled together." On this Blass exclaims, "Lo, an obvious proof that our author was an Antiochene." But neither this nor an alternative theory, that we find here the first cropping out of the "we" pieces in the Acts, is so likely as the view that here we have betrayed to us the secret that the peculiar text underlying our Codex Bezæ had its birth in Antioch.

great famine over the whole world (as our author understood his information[1]), but specially in the Holy Land. Then the disciples, according to their several ability, prepared each severally to send help to the brethren living in Judæa, so general was the fraternal spirit in the breasts of these Antiochene Christians. When the contributions were actually sent, they were conveyed by Barnabas and Saul, the leaders in Antioch, to the hands of "the Elders," apparently of the Judæan churches as a whole, though Jerusalem is no doubt meant in particular. The fact that Elders are here mentioned for the first time without any preface or explanation, in striking contrast to the origin of the Seven in Chapter vi., must imply that they corresponded in the New Israel to the class so named in the Old, and were assumed to have arisen as a matter of course at a prior stage in the Church's development.

But ere the envoys fulfilled this helpful ministry, probably before they had even started on it, persecution once more overtook the Judæan Church, this time at the hands of the native prince, Herod Agrippa, under whom the whole of Palestine was then for a short period united (41–44 A. D.). Herod struck at the leaders, beheading James the son of Zebedee and imprisoning Peter, to the satisfaction of the Jews, about Passover, 44 A. D. Thus Chapter xii. comes in parenthetically and must not be used to fix the chronology of the events connected with

[1] Ramsay justifies the phrase as accurate, provided we understand that famine did not befall all parts of the world at once (p. 48 f.). Possibly τὴν γῆν may have been meant by his source.

the Famine, which reached its height probably about 46–47 A. D.

Strikingly vivid and fresh as is the narrative of Peter's deliverance, its details concern us mainly as casting light on the inner life of the Jerusalem Christians. Thus we find that the house of Mary, the mother of John Mark, was a chief place of resort for the brethren—a hint of the household character which their meetings for worship and fellowship still retained. Again the words of Peter, "Tell this news to James and to the brethren," set before us the same conditions that meet us in Paul's references to the Church of Jerusalem. Peter himself then vanishes from the public eye for the time, withdrawing "to a different place" to escape Herod's wrath. This indeed was fierce, but it was of short duration, for he soon after died at Cæsarea of a loathsome disease, a divine judgment, as it was generally believed, upon his impious pride in the popular adulation which greeted his oration to a Tyrian and Sidonian deputation, waiting on him touching a point in dispute. On the other hand the word of the Lord was ever on the increase. And ere long the ties of fellowship between the young Antiochene Church and the Mother Church in Judæa were drawn closer by aid rendered in time of sore need. This probably occurred about 46–47 A. D., when the famine became really serious.

(*b*) *Paul and the Fresh Missionary Impulse.*

We now come upon the central difficulty of Pauline Chronology. For it is to the visit just alluded to

that Professor Ramsay refers what Paul, in Galatians ii. 1–10, describes as his second visit to Jerusalem. But the chronological difficulty is only a symbol of another more vital than itself, namely that touching the development of the relations between Jewish and Gentile Christians, which in turn involved the essential idea of Christianity. Was the Christian Church at bottom a national or a universal institution? Had man a standing in it simply as man, or only as tolerated or even welcomed guest of the Jew? Had Moses any blessings to confer on man which were not *ipso facto* included in the final blessing in Jesus the Christ? Such were the issues. They were not all realized at once. The existing institution of proselytism, with its various grades, tended to keep some of them in the background for longer than we are apt to imagine, especially on what we may call the "Foreign Mission-Field," where Saul and others were at work on the basis of a "Colonial" mission among the synagogues of the Dispersion. Thus it was only gradually that the controversy in its acute form came into being—and the stages of its growth must be closely watched.

In this connection the stage represented by Gal. ii. is of decisive interest. Paul's visit is generally assumed to correspond to Acts xv.: but that is the third, and not the second, visit recorded in Acts. Can we suppose that what appears in Galatians as the second visit was not meant by Paul to be taken as absolutely such, but that it was only the second visit for a specific object, namely to consult with the leading Apostles? Hardly, and for two reasons. It

seems excluded first by the nature of the insinuations which he is refuting; and next, and that more decisively, by the way in which he expresses himself. To begin with, he has to disprove the insinuation that, prior to his first preaching to the Galatians, he had been dependent upon the original Apostles for his Apostolic commission in some degree at least. Hence, deliberately to omit reference to any visit that might be cited by the other side, even though that visit had ostensibly quite another object, would seriously weaken the finality of his reply. Policy would lead him to dismiss this visit as irrelevant by means of some passing allusion. But instead of this he *seems* to give an *exhaustive* summary of his movements as lying outside Judæa altogether between the visits of Gal. i. 18 and ii. 1. For after the former, he says, "next I came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia; but I remained unknown by face[1] to the churches of Judæa that are in Christ, only they were in possession of the report that 'our quondam persecutor is now preaching the faith of which once he used to make havoc.' And their attitude was that of glorifying God in my case." Then, without a hint that he had ever left the regions just named, he continues: "Next, after an interval of fourteen years I again went up to Jerusalem along with Barnabas, taking with us also Titus: and it was in pursuance of a revelation that I went up." Such is Paul's account, to which all else must be accommodated. We may assume then, provisionally at

[1] Imagine him penning this sentence of a period within which fell his relief-visit to Judæa!

least, that Acts xv. cannot satisfy these requirements,[1] even apart from striking contrasts in the details of the two visits when thoughtfully compared.

This being so, it is natural to fall back on the second visit of Acts, that occasioned by the famine. But why should Paul not mention this, the primary ostensible object? Grant that to himself it had, as Ramsay supposes, an inner and personal significance arising out of a revelation that the moment had come for reaching a clear understanding between the Jewish and Gentile Missions in the persons of their leading spirits. Yet surely it would have strengthened Paul's case and rendered further reasons almost superfluous as against the Judaizers in Galatia, had he simply referred to this second visit as having the practical object of fraternal aid. Instead of this, he ignores all reasons save that afforded by some divine revelation to himself. Its inner purport can have been no other than the "mystery" (Eph. iii. 4 ff.) of the unity of Jew and Gentile in Christ, which made the Gentiles "fellow heirs and fellow members of one body (the *Ecclesia*), and fellow partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus through the Gospel." This is how he describes retrospectively, at a later date, his special message which he was to preach to the Gentiles, even "the untrackable riches of the

[1] Why should Paul omit explicit reference to the Judaistic challenge in Antioch (Acts xv. 1 f.), if this had already occurred? It would have made his after success at Jerusalem all the more impressive. Again Paul was at least primarily concerned to prove the independence of his Gospel *as first preached* in Galatia; while this third visit did not occur until after that first preaching (*i. e.*, on the "South Galatian Theory"; see p. 71 ff.).

Christ," and through which he was to "illumine" the darkness which had hitherto enveloped God's gracious plans for man. But at what particular point in his career did the great Apostle first realize such a revelation in overmastering power and impressiveness? For answer we may point to the occasion alluded to with such awe and mystery in 2 Cor. xii. 2–5, and recall the fact that he dates this experience to a period even earlier than that which we have already reached, namely to about 43 A. D.[1] Nor need we be deterred by his description of what he then heard in ecstasy, as "unspeakable words which it is not allowed to man to utter." For the transcendent nature of the message relates to its form, not to its content. To suppose that Paul would "glory" in the unintelligible is to ignore his own clear words to the contrary effect (*e. g.*, 1 Cor. xiv. 1–22). A great truth broke on him in new and full splendor through these unspeakable experiences, and henceforth became part of his special stewardship of God's mysteries. And so this seemingly isolated allusion falls into the whole plan of his life-work and helps to justify his later language to the Ephesians. The significance of this combination has not, to my knowledge, hitherto been recognized.[2] If, however,

[1] 2 Cor. was written about 55–56 A. D., and he speaks in it of this experience as having come to him "fourteen years before." This by ancient reckoning works out as 42–43.

[2] Ramsay's attempt to connect the "revelation" of Gal. ii. 2 with Acts xxii. 17 seems to me rather paradoxical. On the other hand it falls in excellently with Weizsäcker's remark, that "with all his independence in action, he never lost sight of the hope of joining in the erection of one great Catholic Church of Christ" (*The Apostolic Age*, i. 178).

it holds, then it casts a flood of light on Gal. ii. 2. For after so glorious a vision of God's mighty counsels, new missionary projects would crowd upon his mind; and he would naturally be eager to lay his more expanded Gospel before the leaders of the mother *Ecclesia*, upon whose attitude its practicability so largely depended, alike as regards consolidation of past results and the securing of a larger future.

But here another question appears on the horizon. Is a visit so motived fully compatible with even the so-called second visit to Jerusalem, as related in Acts xi. 27–30? The harmony would be at best a strained one, owing not only to the very different impressions conveyed by Acts and Gal. ii., but also to chronological reasons. The Second Epistle to the Corinthians was written not later than autumn 56. The fourteenth year backward from the time of writing would bring us to 43 as the latest date to which we can safely assign the vision or revelation of 2 Cor. xii. It is not certain indeed, that the revelation determining Paul to visit the leaders of the mother Church followed at once on this accession of light. But it is probable that no long interval elapsed, even though we suppose that his visit took place after, rather than before, Peter's imprisonment early in 44 A. D. If we have to place the visit before Herod's outburst against the leaders, it would have no connection with the famine, because falling altogether before 44 A. D. If, on the other hand, it was subsequent to Herod's death (after April, 44) and during the period of quiet expansion which

followed (xii. 24)—say 46 (47), as Ramsay suggests—the fitness of the anticipatory reference before the events of 44 A. D. is open to question, especially if one is unable to accept Ramsay's view that a prolonged personal administration of the relief is implied by the narrative in Acts. On the whole then, while it is not possible to deny absolutely the theory which sees in Gal. ii. 1–10 only an otherwise unrecorded and more personal side of the relief visit, yet it seems more natural to refer it to another visit altogether, marked by its private rather than representative nature. This latter feature would explain its omission from Acts.

Against such an otherwise unrecorded visit, prior even to the Famine visit, there seems to be no valid objection. If we ask whether it came before or after Peter's imprisonment early in 44, we may reply that it hardly matters. In either case it came before the actual ministry of the Antiochene charity and so yields an excellent meaning for Gal. ii. 10, where Paul records the request to "remember the poor" as a thing about which he himself was even zealous. This would be literally the case if his Antiochene friends, probably at his instigation, were already preparing their relief fund when he left them to go upon his own private mission. Some indeed would set off against the private *purpose* of the visit (v. 2) the fact that the privacy was to some degree broken into by the intrusive presence of certain "false brethren," who managed somehow to smuggle themselves into the conference with the recognized leaders of the mother Church (v. 4), with the object of

"spying upon" the too large liberty which they suspected Paul of practising on the Mission Field. But this did not make the Conference in any sense a public one; the contrast with Acts xv. still remains.

So conceived the course of events was as follows. Paul had been impressed by the growing success of the work in Antioch, read in the light of his growing revelations in the mystery of the universal scope of man's redemption in Christ (Eph. iii. 4 ff.). And a moment came when, as he mused on the larger future, he felt constrained to visit Jerusalem in order to make sure of the sympathy of the leading spirits in the Church. He took Barnabas, as his colleague in the work already done, and Titus, as an object lesson in the efficacy of his wider Gospel. The conference as intended by Paul was strictly one of leaders. But his plan for a quiet and amicable concordat was jeopardized by the unwelcome presence of certain legally minded men (probably recent adherents), who somehow wormed themselves into these confidential meetings. But in spite of them, the leaders proved as large-minded as Paul had expected of men pervaded by the prophetic traditions of Israel and moulded by Jesus' own spirit; and a division of functions was arranged. The only concern expressed by the older Apostles was that the members of the New *Ecclesia* of Israel, admitted by Paul on the less onerous terms of his Gospel, should "be mindful of the poor." This guarantee of essential similarity of piety in the two missions—for such seems the point of the requirement (cf. James i. 27)—can hardly be reconciled with the conditions laid

down in Acts xv. 20. The object in each case is the same, namely the keeping the two sections of the New Israel in touch with each other in sentiment; but the occasions were different. Soon after his return to Antioch, the Famine gave Paul and his Antiochene friends occasion for manifesting the very spirit of loving kindness that the Judæo-Christian leaders valued so highly. What Paul had all along been zealous for in principle, that he now was able to show in practical and striking form on the occasion of his second *public* visit as recorded in Acts xi. 30; xii. 25. Thereafter it is most natural to suppose Peter came down to see the generous sister Church;[1] and in the guileless gladness of his heart he fell in with the local practice of ignoring the stricter Palestinian rule (sanctioned only by "the tradition of the elders") of eating only with the circumcised. In this he was soon checked by public opinion in Jerusalem and vacillated. How natural at this stage, before the issue had been formally raised outside Palestine. How unnatural, even in impulsive Peter, after matters of principle had been so debated as in Acts xv.[2]

It has been observed by Weizsäcker that "the growing excitement with which Paul unmistakably records the event at Antioch" proves "that, in his

[1] Contrast with this, as a favorable moment for his visit, the morrow of the Conference in Acts xv.

[2] The vacillation, too, of Barnabas, surprising as it seems to us in any case, is far more natural *before* than after the experiences of the First Missionary Journey with Paul. This holds, whether we put the vacillation just before the Council in Acts xv. (so Ramsay, in the face of xv. 2*a*) or after it.

view, it was there that the crisis (of the Judaistic issue) was reached." The crisis began there indirectly, in a practical matter involving only the equality of Jew and Gentile in Christ, the practical decision of which might not at first be thought to mean much. Later on it arose again in the more drastic form seen in Acts xv., through the intervention of the stricter or Pharisaic element in the Jerusalem Church (a secondary and not an original element), who felt that half measures would not meet the case of growing Gentile Christianity. Paul, indeed, saw the Law to be involved from the first, and forced the matter of principle on Peter's notice at Antioch. But the latter felt it wisest to drop the problem altogether as far as he himself was concerned by withdrawing within his old lines, those of the Palestinian *Ecclesia*. This opportunism was the more possible to his mind that the unquestioned assumption of the near return of the glorified Christ enabled him and others to leave over certain problems for the present. Thus a premature crisis was averted, and only so. For James at any rate, the leading person of the Jerusalem Church, would have been unable to go beyond the mere principle of parallel but separate missions. For him somehow Moses and Christ were both essential to the Messianic Kingdom proper, however the Gentile within its borders might stand to the body politic of the New Israel. Thus Paul has no positive issue to record in Galatians. He had made his protest, successfully as far as Antioch was concerned, and that was enough for the moment. It proved his independent Apos-

tolic standing, and that was his whole object in relating the circumstance to the Galatians: his independence *before setting out to evangelize them* was manifest.

Before proceeding to the First Missionary Journey itself, to which the bringing of John Mark from Jerusalem (xii. 25) already points, it is well to scrutinize the ideas found in Saul's remonstrance to Cephas, as being those which the great missionary had in reserve to guide him in the unknown future. They are the more noteworthy that he assumes their acceptance by Peter also, though not with equal clearness as regards their negative bearing on the value of the Jewish Law. Their sum is this. Faith in Christ means consciousness of being indebted to Christ for justification; and this in turn means despair of justification in any other way, even by what the Law can do for a man (cf. Acts iv. 12, "in none other is the Salvation," etc.). And specifically, the Cross of Christ would have no vital meaning if the Law still provided a way to righteousness. If, on the contrary, a Jew stepped down from the prerogative level of the Law in order to be justified in Christ, like any "sinner of the Gentiles," surely he had already given up all hope in the Law. Accordingly, to attach saving virtue to the Law subsequently, was but to reflect on one's own previous attitude in esteeming the Law impotent to justify. This last idea was probably new to Peter, who had not had occasion to think out the logic of his own trust in Christ. The private concordat with Paul had contemplated only fellowship in spirit and at a distance between

the two Missions as such; but now Paul's dialectic was bringing to light the ultimate principles of the Gospel. These issues will recur when we come to deal with Acts xv. For the present, however, it is enough to realize that among Judæo-Christians themselves several attitudes were assumed to believing Gentiles and so to the Law; reaching from Peter, through James, down to the Judaizers who came to say "Except ye be circumcised after the Mosaic usage, ye cannot inherit salvation" at all. But ere this extreme section pressed its views to the front by invading the Antiochene Church with its propaganda, a great forward move had been made from that Church into further fields.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST MISSIONARY JOURNEY.

(*a*) *Cyprus and after* (Acts xiii. 1–13).

WHAT period of time elapsed between the return of Barnabas and Saul from their Relief visit (and after the probable visit of Peter to Antioch), and the Holy Spirit's prompting of the local Church to initiate a further mission, we cannot accurately determine. But we gather that the call came through the medium of one or more of its specially gifted members called "prophets and teachers." Among these we learn the names of five; Barnabas and Symeon Niger (both probably Cypriots), Lucius of Cyrene,[1] and Manaen foster-brother of Herod the tetrarch, and Saul. Whilst, then, they were engaged in solemn service[2] and fasting, the word came, "Separate Me Barnabas and Saul unto the work unto which I have called them." The call came direct from God, being made known through men specially sensitive to His Spirit; the

[1] Cf. xi. 19, for men of Cyprus and Cyrene as leaders in the original evangelization in Antioch.

[2] Hort (*Christian Ecclesia*, 63) says, "The context suggests that it was . . . a special act of worship on the part of a solemn meeting of the whole *Ecclesia*, held expressly with reference to a project for carrying the Gospel to the heathen."

Church's recognition of the same was an act of the brotherhood as a whole.[1] This was the fundamental idea of ordination or sacred commission in the Apostolic Age, whether it was to a function for life or to a special mission, such as the present. The *ecclesia* thus identified itself with the Divine will, and the preachers became the missionaries[2] of the Antiochene Church for this piece of work, a fact expressed by the laying on of hands representative of the brethren and symbolizing the solidarity of the community with its members whom it consecrated to God's work with prayer and fasting.[3]

Yet after all it was "by the Holy Spirit" that the two missionaries felt themselves "sent forth," as they made their way to Seleucia, the port of Antioch, and as they watched the land recede from view and then turned their faces toward Cyprus, the native land of Barnabas. The date was probably spring, 47 A. D. Their subordinate assistant was Barnabas' relative, probably cousin, John Mark. From the way in which his presence is alluded to, namely after mention of their preaching, we may perhaps surmise something touching his functions. Besides looking after the material side of their arrangements, he probably helped to baptize converts and

[1] Cf. xiv. 26 f., xv. 40. So the second century paraphrase in *Codex Bezæ* inserts "all" in v. 3: this, for the author of Acts, goes without saying.

[2] It is totally foreign to what Paul says of himself, to regard the Church's act as constituting him an Apostle: *that* he was long before, by direct act of God through Jesus Christ (Gal. i. 1).

[3] In xiv. 26, they are said to have been "committed to the grace of God for the work which they fulfilled."

to teach them, as a "catechist," certain simple facts about Jesus the Christ and some of His notable sayings.

They landed on the Eastern shore of the island, at Salamis, where the Jewish colony was large enough to afford several synagogues wherein to declare the word of God. To the Jew of necessity belonged the first right to a hearing of the Gospel;[1] while the most prepared of the Gentiles were to be found attending the synagogues. The work seems to have proceeded without marked opposition, as might be expected in the case of Barnabas' fellow Hellenists, among whom moreover some knowledge of the new preaching already existed (xi. 19). And what was true of Salamis, applied also to their tour throughout the whole island, until they reached Paphos in the southwest, where the Roman governor was at the time residing. Here took place an occurrence of momentous import to the mind of our historian, as the manner of his narrative indicates. The missionaries were brought into fresh relations; and in the crisis one of them in particular was brought into a new prominence, while the final scope of his Gospel must have come home with fresh realization both to himself and his companions.

The occasion was an interview with the proconsul Sergius Paulus, a man of good sense, as well as of catholic sympathies. He had about his person at that time a Jew of the type already seen in Simon Magus, one claiming certain superhuman knowledge and powers (for the combination, comp. xix. 14, 19).

[1] xiii. 46, cf. ix. 20.

Such "Magians" were complex Oriental personages, like the "Masters" of the modern theosophist, uniting mystic religious ideas, often suggestive in character, with a sort of pseudo-science and a varying element of trickery. Thus they were often able to do things seemingly or really out of the order of nature as then understood.[1] Accordingly Elymas, "the sage," had a certain attraction for even a thoughtful man like this Proconsul; though we are not given to understand that the enthralling influence usually exerted by this class on human character had gone very far in his case. But at any rate, Elymas could not tamely see himself and his philosophy of life supplanted. So when, at the Proconsul's request, the Apostles began to expound their philosophy of things divine—as Sergius Paulus would put it to himself—the Magian intervened to turn his patron aside from lending too favorable an ear. And now the hour had come, and the man was ready for it. In the might of a spirit above his habitual self, Saul stood forth and confronted the man with an arresting gaze and with words of intense conviction, taxing him, a Jew, with habitually perverting "the ways of the Lord, the straight ways," and so sinking ever deeper in deceit and all villainy. But the hand of the forgotten Lord should be seen upon him, if not for his own restoration, at least as a witness to those whose chances of light had been less.

[1] Such a person, broadly speaking, was Apollonius of Tyana (not far from Tarsus), whose life was almost coextensive with the first century.

At this moment and in this attitude the Apostle seems to Luke to speak no longer as the Jew, Saul, but as the Roman citizen, Paul,[1] through that side of his complex personality which had been prepared as well by birth and training, as by the special grace vouchsafed in his conversion. There follows a brief reference to the effect on the governor's mind of the blindness which for a season overtook Elymas, serving as it did to convince[2] him of the Divine authority of "the teaching of the Lord," so impressive on its own merits; and then we are hurried on to mark the sequel of this new departure both as regards Paul's new prominence and the new emphasis on the wider bearings of his gospel. Henceforth the "door of faith" actually opened of God to the Gentiles (xiv. 27) was to be the dominant note of the Mission. And Paul was ere long to appeal with a new directness to the Græco-Roman world, "as himself a member of that world" in a degree to which even Barnabas probably remained a stranger. Certainly it is hard to escape the impression that it was John Mark's feeling that a new horizon had opened out since they had been despatched on their mission—that it was in fact rather a new mission that Paul

[1] "His two names were the alternative, not the complement, of each other:" so that, according to the *rôle* he was playing, the one or the other became appropriate.

[2] There is no mention of baptism as following Sergius Paulus' belief. This is a notable silence in face not only of Acts viii. 12 f., 36 f., x. 47, (analogous cases of new departure in the spread of the Gospel), but also of the fact that the gift of the Holy Spirit usually associated with Baptism was a valued proof of a fresh extension of the Church. Hence Blass asks pointedly, "Num baptizatus est proconsul?"

now contemplated—which really led to his abrupt return home to Jerusalem. Henceforth indeed Paul was to be the leading spirit in a new and marked sense, implied in the phrase "Paul and his company"[1] which occurs in the verse recording the voyage from Paphos to Perga, during which the vision of an enlarged campaign extending far beyond Pamphylia and the adjacent seaboard may have taken shape in his ardent soul. Yet it would be unwise, especially in view of xv. 38, where the emphasis is upon the work from which he turned away, to assume that Mark's withdrawal was due to jealousy for his kinsman's leadership. The words "went not with them to the work" suggests rather fainthearted-ness at the difficulties involved in a bold and enlarging enterprise,[2] when it was first broached on arrival at Perga.

Be this as it may, Paul and Barnabas seem to have found little to arrest their steps in Perga itself: it was the height of summer, and preaching in the low lying Perga may have been physically impossible to strangers fresh from the more breezy Cyprus. In any case they pushed forward more or less rapidly through the region between it and the Pisidian Antioch, which lay in the adjacent province of Galatia, on the high table-land, some 3,600 feet

[1] This rather suggests others besides Barnabas and John Mark. Perhaps Titus was one of the party; perhaps he was the unseen witness to whom we owe Luke's narrative.

[2] Pamphylia was a country "of similar situation to Cilicia and Syria, and in the closest possible relations with them, whereas it was a serious and novel step to go into the country north of Taurus."

above the sea. No motive is assigned by Acts for the direction taken; but two plausible suggestions may be noted. The first one is that the state of Paul's health necessitated retreat from the enervating atmosphere of the lowlands about Perga, which stood back from the sea on the river Cestrus, to the bracing uplands beyond the Taurus range. This view has been put most persuasively by Dr. Ramsay, who suspects that Paul's "stake in the flesh" was a heightened nervous susceptibility, to malarial influences for instance. In his epistle to the Galatians (his converts in these regions), Paul himself alludes to his first preaching among them as occasioned by physical infirmity. And Ramsay shows how eminently the nervous derangement he has in mind would tend to awaken contemptuous pity in the beholders, especially if their superstition viewed malarial fever as a penalty sent by some God. Hence, as far as the diagnosis of the malady goes, it serves admirably to bring out the point of the Apostle's grateful testimony that his Galatians did not despise their visitor or turn from him as one under the ban of heaven, but received him as a messenger of God (Gal. iv. 13, 14). But Ramsay's theory, as he himself states it, involves several difficulties, particularly as bearing on Mark and the conditions under which he deserted "the work." Accordingly McGiffert's modified theory seems preferable, namely that Paul had malarial germs in his system when he left the lowlands of Pamphylia, but that their full effects only appeared as he proceeded.

But this still leaves the journey itself without a

goal, as before. Ramsay thinks it most accordant with Luke's methods in writing to suppose that Antioch was itself the real goal, the one end in view being restoration to health. And so he would explain their neglect of Perga, as contrasted with their action on the route home (xiv. 25). To some, however, another account will seem more probable. Impressed with the policy of seizing on the great centres of population and influence, like the Syrian Antioch, Paul may already have cast his eyes on the great cities of *provincia Asia*, Ephesus in particular; and he may have been on his way thither when he was laid up at Antioch, which stood on the Royal Road leading westward to Apamæa, where it met the Great Trade Route through the south of Asia to Ephesus. His plan may have been to begin with the cultured cities of the Lycus valley, in which were numerous colonies of Jews, and so work his way to Ephesus, whence the return journey by sea would be easy. This was at least the goal of the Second Mission Journey (xvi. 6). Moreover, the less ambitious route, through Pisidian Antioch, the Lycaonian cities, his own Tarsus, and so back to Antioch (*i. e.*, the regions just beyond his own earlier work in Cilicia), seems definitely excluded by a statement in Gal. iv. 13. For there he remarks that his preaching in the Galatian cities was not premeditated, but accidental, occasioned by an illness.

(*b*) *South Galatia* (Acts xiii. 14–xiv.).

After a trying journey and a large measure of those "perils of rivers, perils of robbers," to which

Paul later refers incidentally, Antioch was reached. The city had the status of a Roman Colonia and was "the governing and military centre of the southern half of the vast province of Galatia, which at that time extended from north to south right across the plateau of Asia Minor."[1] It also contained a considerable Jewish element. Accordingly they soon found their way to the synagogue for the Sabbath service; and being courteously invited by the rulers or managers of the synagogue to address the people, Paul rose, and with a gesture inviting silent attention, spoke to the Jews and Gentile adherents to the following purpose. "God's dealings," said he, with His Chosen People had culminated in the theocracy, as realized in the rule of David, "a man after His heart." But there was a promise touching a yet greater Son of David. That promise had now been fulfilled in Jesus, sent as Saviour to Israel according to the witness of the Forerunner, John the Baptist. And the message of Salvation was now sent to such as he was addressing no less than, nay more than, to those in Judæa. For Jerusalem and its leaders, in their very blindness, had fulfilled the voices of the Prophets constantly read in their hearing, by judging and unjustly doing to death this Jesus. But from the dead He was raised of God and manifested to the men who had been His associates. These, then, were now representing His claims to the Jewish people; while he and Barnabas were the bearers to such as his hearers, sons of Abraham and all who were ready to give ear, of the glad

[1] So Ramsay, with the growing consensus of scholars.

news that the promise to the fathers had been fulfilled in the resurrection of Jesus. For thereby He was publicly installed God's Son and Messianic King, the heritor of the full Davidic prerogatives. Accordingly before them that day lay the offer of Forgiveness of sins through Him, of a justification impossible by means of the Mosaic Law, but open to every one who placed his trust in Him. Let them heed Habakkuk's warning against unbelief.

This appeal so far impressed the assembly as a body [1] that, though unwilling to decide at once as to its validity, they requested a further statement on the matter against the Sabbath following. There were, however, many individuals, both Jews and proselytes, whose hearts had been deeply moved and who followed Paul and Barnabas after the assembly had broken up. The Apostles entered into conversation with them, and so began a work of private persuasion which ere the week's end made their influence felt throughout the whole city. Hence on the Sabbath appointed the synagogue was crammed, mainly through an influx of Gentiles which aroused the jealousy of the leading Jews, by this time fully alive to the issues involved in the new preaching. So that, no sooner had Paul opened his mouth to continue his former discourse, and probably to em-

[1] What we know of the Jews of this region, in contrast to places in direct communication with Palestine by sea, such as Thessalonica and Corinth, suggests that they had largely lost touch with Judæa and become a good deal naturalized. This is implied by what we hear of Timothy's parentage (xvi. 1). Hence the appeal from the Judæan attitude toward Jesus, to them and to their proselytes, is a faithful local touch (xiii. 26 ff.).

phasize the door of faith as open to all, than they broke out with contradictions and blasphemies. Then Paul and Barnabas spoke out boldly and said: "It was needful that the word of God should first be spoken to you. Seeing ye thrust it from you and judge yourselves unworthy of 'the eternal life,' lo, we turn to the heathen. For so hath the Lord commanded us, saying, *I have set Thee as Light unto the Gentiles, that Thou shouldest be for salvation unto the end of the earth.*" These words probably mark a distinct epoch in Paul's life. For though they involve nothing new in principle, and were uttered with only a local bearing—since he continued to go first to the synagogue wherever there was one—yet his experiences in this week must have counted heavily toward maturing his conviction that his work was to lie *chiefly* among non-Jews and that Gentile Christianity was even to outdo its elder sister. In any case the declaration was received by the heathen with enthusiasm, and many responding to divine grace believed.

And so arose the first known congregation formally separate from the synagogue. Nor was this more than the beginning of a wider work. For "the word of the Lord began to spread abroad throughout all the region," that is the area administratively dependent on Antioch and so in constant intercourse with it. This no doubt presupposes the lapse of two or three months, but hardly more. For not only is there no notice of a "considerable time," as at Iconium; but in the next breath the writer records the dead set against the

schismatic synagogue made by the official Jews, particularly through their influence with certain proselytesses of good social position, who in turn would help to stir up the chief men of the city to take action.[1] Persecution followed, resulting in the expulsion of the Apostles from the Antiochene territory in the interests of peace and order. It has been observed that Acts passes but lightly over the Apostolic sufferings. But we learn from Paul himself how severe the persecution here and in other Galatian cities really was. In the very evening of life he reminds Timothy, who must have seen some of them with his own eyes, of the sort of things that befell him in Antioch, in Iconium, in Lystra,—what persecutions he endured (2 Tim. iii. 11). And it is highly probable that of the three occasions on which, prior to 56 A. D., he was beaten with the rods of lictors—those of magistrates in *Coloniæ* rather than of Roman governors—one, if not both, of the unrecorded cases belongs to this journey. And similarly with some at least of the five scourgings at the hands of Jews, recorded in the same context (2 Cor. xi. 24 f.).

But persecution cowed the spirits neither of the disciples, who were filled with joy and holy enthusiasm, nor of the Apostles, who quietly turned their steps to a new sphere of work. This they found in Iconium, which lay some ninety miles to the south-

[1] The influence here attributed to women is thoroughly in keeping with the social traditions of Asia Minor, in contrast to a typical Greek city like Athens: see also xvii. 12, for a similar local touch.

east and beyond the jurisdiction of the Antiochene magistrates. The journey would usually occupy some three or four days: but probably the zeal of their converts did not suffer the Apostles to traverse it on foot. They took this direction rather than a westerly one, partly because Paul was not yet strong enough to enter on a large enterprise, such as preaching in the province of Asia, and partly because they may already have known of sympathizers in Iconium, such as the Onesiphorus of the apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thekla.* This man is represented as aware of Paul's approach, and as going forth to meet him at the point where the Royal Road from Antioch to Lystra is joined by the road branching off to Iconium: and as this Royal Road became unimportant after 74 A. D., it looks as if there were a contemporary nucleus of fact in this part of the romance. Iconium itself was the metropolis of a group of fourteen cities, once the tetrarchy of Lycaonia under a petty prince, and now the Lycaonian region of the Roman province of Galatia. But the city was originally Phrygian. And hence its inhabitants, then and for long after, carefully distinguished themselves from their ruder Lycaonian neighbors by the racial title Phrygian. This local shade of feeling is preserved in the wording of the Apostles' flight from the city, as "unto the cities of Lycaonia, Lystra and Derbe, and the surrounding Region,"—*i. e.*, from *Phrygia Galatica* (as it was to the Iconians) into *Lycaonia Galatica.* Yet Iconium was but a town in the *Regio* round Antioch: and it was only as they traversed the eighteen miles be-

tween Iconium and Lystra that Paul and Barnabas crossed the Lycaonian frontier and entered a new *Regio* of the same great Galatic province.

Much success followed their preaching in the synagogue at Iconium, among both Jews and Greeks. But again certain Jews caused trouble and poisoned the minds of the heathen against the brethren. They did not however at once attain their end: for the preachers' stay was of considerable length, during which they were outspoken in reliance on the Lord, who testified His approval of the message of His grace by signs and wonders done through them. But finally the whole city took sides, some with the Jews, some with the Apostles. A combined attack was organized by the heathen and the Jews under the lead of their rulers, to maltreat and stone them. Getting wind of it, they fled across the border into the Lycaonian Region, and there continued their work of evangelization.

The two cities of this *Regio*, characterized in the main by the native pre-Greek village system, were Lystra and Derbe. The former was an important garrison town, south-southwest from Iconium. It was the terminus of the Royal Road from Antioch, like it a colony, and the chief centre of Græco-Roman civilization in those parts. Yet the older native element was strongly represented, as comes out in the narrative of the healing of the man that was a cripple. This marvel was hailed by the populace with the cry, uttered in their local dialect, "The Gods in human guise have come down to us:" and with true Oriental feeling for dignified repose

of manner as the mark of greatness, they began to speak of Barnabas as Zeus, but of Paul as Hermes—the spokesman of the gods. And to words they added deeds. For at their request the priest of "*Zeus before the city*" (the local name of the supreme God) prepared to offer special sacrifice before the temple-portals, to celebrate the epiphany of the gods. This coming to the Apostles' ears, they rent their garments in their distress, and rushed forth from the city among the crowd, crying out, "Why do ye so? We too are men, men of like nature with you, bearers to you of the glad call to turn away from these vain ones to a God that lives, who made the heaven and the earth and the sea and all that is therein. He, in the generations gone by, suffered all the peoples to go in their own ways: and yet He left not Himself without witness, in that He did good, giving you from heaven rains and fruitful seasons, filling your hearts with food and gladness." It was only with extreme difficulty that they at last dissuaded the crowds from their purpose. But the incident enabled them to bring home more forcibly than would otherwise have been possible, the idea of God implied in their preaching—an idea actually so different from that in which these superstitious natives had been bred, while yet appealing to the natural theology of the human soul. Through it too we get fresh insight into the wise and sympathetic tact with which Paul addressed himself to various audiences.

Interference from outside, however, cut short the work in Lystra. Though there seem to have been hardly any Jews in the city (yet see xvi. 1 ff.), the

jealousy of those in Antioch and Iconium could not endure this extension to the heathen of Jewish blessings apart from Jewish obligations. Accordingly we find them sending emissaries to repeat the slanderous tactics found successful at Iconium. The enthusiasm of the mob had been checked by finding itself at cross purposes with the missionaries in the episode just related; and their simple minds fell a ready prey to the suggestion of bad motives in men whose minds they could not fathom. The upshot of it all was that Paul was one day stoned and left outside the city for dead. But to the delight of the disciples he ultimately rose up in their midst (the simple fact is stated without any heightening comment), reëntered the city, and on the morrow set forth to Derbe. It was the frontier city of the Galatic province on the southeast and a place of some importance about this time (Claudio-Derbe). Of the process of its evangelization nothing noteworthy is recorded: but the words "made disciples of a considerable number" seem to imply thorough work and a stay of some duration.

Thus we may imagine it early in a new year[1] when Paul and Barnabas, unwilling to go beyond into non-Roman Lycaonia where less preparedness could be counted on, determined rather to retrace their steps and consolidate their work in the souls of converts who must have been sorely tried in the meantime. This they could now do the more easily that new

[1] Ramsay would make it the second year since entry into Galatia. But this seems to allow too long a time to elapse before persecution arose in each city.

magistrates had probably come into office in the cities in question. The encouragement given took the form suited to the occasion. To men hard bestead, the exhortation to "stand fast in faith" was backed by the assurance that "many tribulations" were a necessary part of the process through which the Kingdom of God was to be finally reached. But not only individual fortitude was needed: corporate life and discipline must also be strong. To this end they supervised the election[1] of certain recognized leaders for each church, styled after the Jewish usage *elders*—men of standing and experience such as goes along with mature years. This is interesting as the first case in which we have record of steps taken by Paul to secure definite organization among his converts, the better to realize the Christian life. "Then with this simple organization," says Dr. Hort, "they entrusted the young *Ecclesiæ* to the Lord's care, to pursue an independent life. Such seems to be the meaning of the phrase 'they commended them to the Lord on whom they had believed,' which resembles some of the farewell words spoken to the Ephesian

[1] As Ramsay observes (*St. Paul* 122) it would be unlike Luke's precision of language to use the term whose distinctive meaning was *to elect by popular vote* unless he intended its strict sense. "The procedure, then, seems to be not dissimilar to Roman elections of magistrates, in which the presiding magistrate subjected all candidates to a scrutiny as to their qualifications, and had large discretion in rejecting those whom he considered unsuitable" (cf. 1 Clement 42. 4, 44. 3, 4 for these factors). If we may trust the analogy of an inscription relating to Smyrna, these Elders probably corresponded to the Jewish *archons*, who were of a more official type than the leading persons in a synagogue known as *archisynagogi* (cf. xiii. 15 and the β text of xiv. 2).

Elders at Miletus" (xx. 32)—where the commendation is personal, relating to Christian character, and not official. That is, the several churches as such are entrusted to the Lord's keeping in a season of prayer solemnized by fasting.

The rest of their return journey is soon told. Passing through Pisidia they reëntered Pamphylia, and this time preached in Perga ere going down to embark at Attaleia, the port at which ships bound for Syria mostly called. On arrival at Antioch they forthwith assembled a church meeting and reported "all that God had done with them, and that He had opened to the heathen a door of faith." And so ended the first great missionary campaign on a catholic or simply human basis. We shall see in the Epistle to the Galatians what a battle Paul had soon to fight to maintain his work in all its breadth. Meantime we may be sure that the fresh experience gained of God's dealings with man in His Gospel, made him return with a more triumphant assurance than ever that he was indeed called to be, in a very special sense, the Apostle of the Gentiles.

(*c*) *The Sequel: the Jerusalem Council* (Acts xv.).

The labors of this first great incursion into the Roman Empire proper, were followed by a certain period of quieter work at Antioch, their base. Yet it was not a time of tranquillity. For the strictest section of the Judæan Church was now thoroughly aroused by the menace to Judaism, as a national polity, involved in the alarmingly rapid increase

within the New Israel of those who were not committed to Judaism as such. The proportion between the two elements, Jewish and purely Gentile, had changed and was ever changing for the worse. They felt that action must be taken if the Jewish element was not to be swamped in a church like Antioch, and the very conception of the Christian Church itself become other than it had been, at least in Judæa. And so arose the Judaizing propaganda which for a time colored the life of the Church and added enormously to the strain of Paul's own days. Quite probably the news of the Galatian mission finally determined them to move, and that all along the line, in Galatia as well as at Antioch. It was a bold step to assail the freer Gospel in its stronghold. Still it had to be done, or their cause was lost. We may suppose, however, that they set about it as quietly and gradually as possible,[1] and that the issue only became clear and the conflict keen after they had been some time at work. The issue, once raised, was pressed in its most drastic form; not merely full inter-communion, but even salvation itself was made conditional on the Mosaic rite of circumcision. It looks as if these zealots for the Law—who had been growing in numbers in Judæa as the Pharisees became less shy of what was proving itself a devoutly Jewish movement—had learned by experience that the mere witholding of full fellowship was not a potent enough weapon with which to gain their end (cf. xi. 3, 17, 18). It had probably been tried before (Gal. ii. 13 f.), and after a temporary promise

[1] Possibly they began their campaign in Paul's absence.

of success had failed, thanks to Paul's resolution and clear-sightedness. Hence the stronger line must be tried: Mosaism must be made a matter of life or death to each Gentile believer. There had been something strained and unnatural in the earlier position that one class of Christians should not associate with another. To take the bolder line, and challenge the right of the inferior type to the status of Christian at all (unless it came under the Jewish Law by formal incorporation into Judaism), was at the same time to occupy more tenable ground. For had God made another door to Himself outside of the Law of Moses? And if so, was not the Law made void? Paul had already discerned this issue lurking under the more harmless-looking requirement; and his keen logic had then and there dragged it to the light of day. And now again the brunt of the fight fell on him—though by his side now stood Barnabas, fortified by the experience of the wider mission-field. But the prestige of the Jerusalem Church, in whose name the legalists claimed to speak, was too great to be overcome by pure argument in the minds of very many, especially when the logic of the free admission of the Nations was being pressed in a way they had never before realized. So the brethren sent Paul and Barnabas and "some others of their number" (a larger party than that implied in Paul's account of his visit recorded in Gal. ii. 1ff.) up to Jerusalem, "to meet the Apostles and Elders" there and discuss the matter with them.

It is significant of Paul's sense of the importance of real unity between the two branches of Messiah's

Community, that he should have taken this step. For its meaning might easily be misinterpreted, as if he were ready to submit the question as an open one to the judgment of any earthly tribunal; whereas it touched the essence of his own apostolate. And the fact that he did go up at all on this deputation, strongly supports the view that he had already sounded the leading Jerusalem authorities on the point, and had come to an understanding with Peter, James, and John on the vital principle at stake (Gal. ii. 1–10). But this assured, he was not jealous of any confirmation of Jerusalem's position, as mother-city and chief tribunal of the Church as a whole, that might accrue from such a visit. His later visits prove how generously he strove to keep up a dutiful, though not strictly subordinate, relation between Gentile Christendom and that Church which Providence had so far made the centre of gravity in Messiah's twofold *Ecclesia*.

It was probably while Paul was engaged in fighting the battle for "the truth of the Gospel" with the Judaizers in Antioch, that news reached him of the invasion of his Galatian churches by a small but zealous band of like-minded men, and that the "little leaven" was threatening to "leaven the whole batch." Much as he burned to hasten forthwith to the aid of his raw converts, his immature "babes" in Christ (iv. 19, 20), he could not desert his post at the key of the situation, where the battle had to be fought if the victory was to be decisive. But he pours forth his very soul in the form of a letter—that most expressive and personal of literary forms;

and in the doctrinal part of this letter we have perhaps echoes of the very things he was saying to the Judaizers, face to face at Antioch. The situation suggested would further explain the emotional impetuosity of the letter, conjoined with the precision and firmness of the doctrinal passages. Some see in the form of its salutation, "all the brethren that are with me," a hint that the letter was written, not from amid a church's life, but while journeying. If so, it may well have been when *en route* for Jerusalem, at the spot where the Galatian messengers had come up upon him. This again would give point to the vain longing he seems to express, that he could hurry to his perplexed children and so resolve their doubts and his own (iv. 20).

As the deputation passed through Phœnicia and Samaria, they took the opportunity of "fully describing the conversion of the Nations." And the writer tells us that the news awakened great joy in all the brethren, so reminding us once more of the exceptional state of Judæan sentiment as compared with that of extra-Judæan Christians, even where the latter themselves observed Mosaic usages. On arrival a formal audience was given them by the Jerusalem Church, the Apostles, and the Elders; and a basis for further conference was laid in the narrative of facts touching their Gentile experiences. This at once brought the opposition to their feet in the person of "certain believers belonging to the sect of the Pharisees," who laid it down that Gentile converts must submit to circumcision and observance of the Law of Moses. Discussion was ad-

journed to a later day,[1] when, in the presence of the Apostles and the Elders and of the assembled Church, much and probably noisy debate took place on the issues involved. The leading Apostles reserved themselves for the critical moment when minds are ripe for decision. Then first Peter stood up and reminded the assembly of his own experience in days gone by, how that through him also the heart-searching God had revealed his mind and ways in giving Gentiles the Holy Spirit, the seal of belief, even as to themselves. God, then, had made no distinction, seeing that by faith He purified the hearts of those hitherto held unclean. Were they, he asked, to tempt God by going behind His action and imposing on Gentiles a yoke which had proved all too heavy for their fathers and themselves, namely fulfilment of the Law as condition of Divine favor or salvation? It is on the grace of the Lord Jesus that their own confidence of Salvation now rested—the very ground upon which Gentiles alone rely.

Peter's word told: silence fell on the multitude; and Barnabas and Paul seeing their chance, followed up the effect by rehearsing the like witness which God had given to Gentile believers in their own ministry. And after they were done, James seized the moment for summing up in terms which he saw would now voice the prevailing feeling of the assembly. In this, as in other respects, the account

[1] To the interval between the two public gatherings, Lightfoot, and those who see in Acts xv. and Gal. ii. 1–10, accounts of the same events, assign those private conferences of Paul and Barnabas with the leading Apostles of which Paul makes everything in his narrative in *Galatians*.

accurately reflects the more informal methods of Oriental deliberations, in which the sense of the meeting is taken by some influential person to the general satisfaction. Starting from the facts alluded to by "Symeon," he pointed out that they were but in keeping with what Amos had said, touching the rebuilding of the ruined Davidic theocracy, in which mankind at large was to find its true home. Accordingly his own opinion was against hampering those who from among the peoples were actually turning to God, but in favor of sending word to them to abstain from certain gross forms of defilement.[1] Such abstinence was needful out of deference to Jewish sentiment, which existed far and wide beyond Palestine, through synagogues that kept alive the Mosaic Law in their midst. For if Gentile adherents of Jesus the Messiah were to do things from which every Jew shrank with long-inherited abhorrence, it would mean putting a stumbling-block in the way of the Jews in relation to the Messiah-

[1] The defilements were those of eating food polluted by idolatrous use; fornication in the sense of all illicit alliances (including nearer degrees of kinship than Jewish usage allowed: cf. 1 Cor. v. 1*a*.); eating the meat of animals from which that mysteriously sacred principle, the lifeblood, had not been allowed to depart; using blood in any way for food. Dr. Hort supposes these points were meant as concrete indications of pure and true "natural religion," not of Judaism in the exclusive sense. Thus the shrinking from "profanely" familiar use of blood, though specially sanctioned by Jewish law, was shared by other peoples also. And in any case, without going deeply into the question of the choice of just these four things, we may agree that "at most they are isolated precepts of expediency"—answering, as it were, to the renunciations which early accompanied baptism—and did not rest on the principle which was in dispute.

ship of Jesus. Such a consideration (so far as applicable to a given locality) was just of the kind to which Paul himself was ever ready to yield due weight—a matter not of compulsion on principle, but of self-denial at the behest of charity and the common good. The points at issue, circumcision and the binding obligation of the Jewish law as such, were not insisted on. The case which remained for compromise was one of expediency and reciprocity in consideration. And here Paul was always large-hearted, an advocate for duties rather than rights in relation to Christ's freemen.

And so the Pharisaic element was overruled, and it was agreed to send selected delegates to Antioch and its region, as bearers and expounders of a letter in the above sense. Those chosen to accompany Paul and Barnabas on behalf of the Jerusalem Church and its authorities, were Judas Barsabbas (possibly brother to the Joseph of the same surname, i. 23) and Silas, "leading men among the brethren." The epistle, which possibly preserves something of the structure of epistles from the Sanhedrin to local authorities, was in the name of "the Apostles and the elder brethren," as representing the whole community: and addressed itself to the brethren of Gentile origin in Antioch and the adjoining regions of Syria and Cilicia, *i. e.*, the area in which the trouble had arisen and by which the question had been referred to Jerusalem. No account was taken of possible converts in other lands. It was primarily an answer to the problem presented by given local conditions—a fact which left Paul free to ignore its

letter when he judged local conditions sufficiently different from those here contemplated. It briefly disowns the line taken by certain of their own people as having been quite unauthorized; praises "their beloved" Barnabas and Paul as men who had devoted their lives to proclaiming the name of the Lord Jesus Christ; and accredits Judas and Silas as chosen by common consent to announce orally the same message as the letter itself contained. "For it seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us to lay on you no extra burden save these matters of sheer necessity," namely the four abstinences; "from which if ye keep clear, it shall be well with you. Farewell." The party "went down," from what was still to Christians their religious capital, to Antioch; assembled the brethren; and handed them the epistle. They on their part having read it were glad at its cheering contents, which Judas and Silas, men of prophetic gift and fervor, enlarged upon with further encouraging words, and so completely established the brethren's confidence in their free faith. After making some stay the two delegates were suffered to return with a message of peace from the brethren to those that sent them. Meantime Paul and Barnabas continued to reside in Antioch, teaching the Word of the Lord and bringing home to fresh souls its glad tidings, with the aid of many helpers.

As he looks back on the question underlying most of this chapter, namely the relation of the Old and New dispensations under which one and the same God had revealed His will to His Chosen People,

the thoughtful reader must feel its extreme gravity. How could things which hitherto had been regarded as essential conditions of acceptance with Jehovah be set aside, as no longer binding (on all at least), by men who regarded God as equally the author of the Old and of the New? It was true, as the Apostles who most shared their Master's mind saw in various ways and with varying degrees of clearness, that the problem had been virtually answered by Jesus Christ's own example and conduct. But what was the true theory underlying His actions in detail? "The fundamental point, a fulfilment of the Law which was not a literal retention of it as a code of commandments, was, as it is still, a conception hard to grasp." And so there was a period of transition during which the Spirit in the community "took of the things of Christ and showed" their inner meaning, through actual experience, to its most sensitive members. The main crises in this process of interpretative revelation and the chief persons concerned have come before us, and the result so far is embodied in the provisional solution found in the Jerusalem Concordat. What helped men to be satisfied with something so provisional, was a common expectation of their Lord's Return in royal power and majesty. In view of this, a fair *modus vivendi* was all that was absolutely needful—a remark which has manifold applications to the whole practical side of Christian life in the Apostolic Age. Hence "from this time forward the two sides of our Lord's teaching and action in respect of the Law were both for a while embodied in living socie-

ties of men. The fulfilment of the Law, as distinguished from the observance of its letter, was now the exclusive ideal of the Gentile Church, which in most places had doubtless in the first age a kernel of Jewish converts, and which in all ages was to rest on the old foundations of Israel and to find guidance in its Scriptures, but was henceforth not under a law but under grace. How this was to be done was a terribly difficult problem, never perhaps distinctly contemplated by any large body of Christians, and still but partially solved." It is in this connection that the services of St. Paul stand forth in all their colossal grandeur. As for the Jewish section of the Church, "the legal question led up to questions of the highest theology." For, "to have recognized the equal validity of a Christianity not bound by the Law, could not but react on men's thoughts on their own relation to the Law and on Him who was the common object of faith to Jewish and to Gentile Christians." Nevertheless "till the voice of God was heard in quite other accents, a Palestinian Church could not but be more or less a Judaic Church. This temporary duality within Christianity is constantly overlooked or misunderstood;" yet it was inevitable.[1] And a tempering influence was found in the Christianized Dispersion, whose type of piety must have stood half-way between Jewish and Gentile Christendom.

[1] See Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, 82 f., cf. 13–38; also below, p. 218 ff. for James' type of Judæo-Christianity.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FIRST EUROPEAN MISSION (Acts xv. 36–xviii. 22).

NOT long after the events just narrated Paul, feeling that things were once more in a satisfactory way at Antioch, proposed to Barnabas a visit of inspection to the churches founded on their former journey. Barnabas agreed but insisted on John Mark being one of the party. To this Paul demurred on the ground that he could not be fully relied on for such work, in view of his former desertion of his leaders. But Barnabas was sensitive for his relative's reputation, and pressed his view so strongly that a joint visitation became impossible; and each undertook that part of the field in which he was most at home. And so Barnabas took Mark and sailed for his native Cyprus, where the mists of tradition close around him: and Paul on the other hand chose Silas (who as a Roman citizen (xvi. 37) must have had kindred sympathies) for his colleague, and went forth followed by the prayers of the brethren. Their course lay through Syria and Cilicia; and as they went they stablished the faith of the churches there, whose existence is implied in the Jerusalem Letter (xv. 23). It is probable that this "stablishing" was in the freedom of the Gospel, and that in fact they followed up the news of the letter itself,

which had no doubt already reached these churches. But in any case it is interesting to remember that this was the region, especially the Cilician part of it, in which Paul had done the bulk of his early evangelistic work extending over several years at least; though we have no reason to suppose either that it was numerically great or that it affected a large proportion of Gentiles. And so our attention is hurried forward to facts of more significance for the theme of Acts, the turning-points and prime agents in the progress of the Gospel from Jerusalem, and its limited horizon, to Rome, with its cosmopolitan outlook.

The first typical event of the journey was the addition of a new member to Paul's inner circle, and the illustration it affords of his large considerateness toward Jewish sensibilities, wherever these did not jeopardize evangelic principle. Having visited Derbe, they in due course reached Lystra, where dwelt a young disciple named Timothy, a Jew on his mother's side, a Greek on his father's. He had an excellent record among the brethren, not only in Lystra, but also in Iconium, its nearest neighbor; and Paul saw in him the promise of yet greater things. Accordingly he determined to add him to his staff, possibly to replace John Mark. But to take a half-Jew, who had never been circumcised (probably through his father's opposition to begin with), through the regions that lay on his route would be to stir afresh the embers of a conflict which had only just subsided. There was nothing for it but to get his consent to conform to the law of his birth on his mother's side, as could be

done without surrender of essential principle, while the motive was a high and generous one. Hence, Timothy could say like Paul himself, "I became to the Jews as a Jew, that I might gain Jews." He chose to recognize his Jewish nationality—which was about as much as Jewish sentiment in many parts of the Empire cared for: while he did not profess to adopt the Judaizing interpretation of its obligations as regards intercourse with Gentile brethren. This done, his presence had no tendency to neutralize the conciliatory effect of the Jerusalem Concordat, which Paul and Silas communicated to the churches as they passed. Its tenor would cause them to go forward with settled assurance after the agitating experiences of the Judaizing propaganda and the drastic corrective of Paul's letter to them in reply.[1]

It so happens that we have a glimpse of the actual service at which Timothy was set apart for his special ministry. It is preserved for us in Paul's letters to him, when, years after, he bade Timothy be strong to stand alone in a position of difficulty and responsibility. He is reminding him of those first days of high promise, and of nascent spiritual gifts brought to full expression and power under conditions of great sacredness, amid the assembly of dear brethren in his home church. "This charge," says the Apostle, "I commit to thee, my child Timothy, according to the prophecies which led the way to

[1] Surely, *after* such "strengthening in their faith" as the concordat and *Paul's comments thereon* must have brought these Galatians, it is incredible that they should have speedily fallen a prey to the Jewish propaganda reflected in the Epistle to the Galatians.

thee, that in them (*i. e.*, in their power) thou mayest war the good warfare." The meaning of these words may best be illustrated by the conditions leading up to the setting apart of Barnabas and Saul to their mission-journey. So intimations from God, whether through Paul and Silas or through local "prophets," would point to Timothy, saying virtually, "Separate for me Timothy to the work whereunto I have called him." Here, too, the separation would naturally take outward form in fasting, and prayer, and laying on of hands by the representatives of the local Church, as at Antioch (Acts xiii. 3). "In this case, however," says Dr. Hort, "one additional element would be present, namely the special relation in which St. Paul stood to Timothy"—as his father in faith. And to both these things Paul alludes in pointing back to that solemn season when the special divine gift (*charisma*), to which the prophecies related, came into manifest play. The gift was one fitting Timothy for his distinctive mission, that of a missionary or evangelist of high order; and was doubtless rooted in the soil of his godly training under his grandmother Lois and his mother Eunice.[1]

Thus equipped, Timothy stepped forth upon that associate ministry of which St. Paul's Epistles bear not infrequent traces, during the period of apostolate around the shores of the Ægean Sea upon which he himself was about to enter.

Their route lay through the Phrygio-Galatian region, the somewhat indeterminate borderland just beyond the confines of the Roman Province of Asia,

[1] See 1 Tim. i. 18; iv. 14; 2 Tim. i. 6.

in which they felt prevented by some divine guidance from beginning fresh evangelistic work. Their idea now was to enter the northwesterly province of Bithynia. And this they essayed to do about the point where the eastern side of Mysia (part of "Asia") intersects the Bithynian border. But here again they were checked by "the Spirit of Jesus," and so shut up to bearing westward through Mysia, until they came down to the great harbor of Alexandria Troas. Since leaving the Galatian Churches their movements had been like the accelerated course of a river confined between narrow banks, ere it seeks with a plunge its new level and opens out once more into greater breadth amid a fresh landscape. It was at Troas, then, that the plunge took place; when, through the medium of a night-vision, in which a certain Macedonian stood beckoning and saying, "come over into Macedonia and help us," Paul was persuaded that the anxiously looked-for word of command had at length been given. Then follow the remarkable words, "and when he had seen the vision, straightway *we* sought to go forth into Macedonia, concluding that 'God has summoned us to evangelize them.'" Here the first person plural, which henceforth crops up at various points, warns us that the party has been reinforced by a new member,[1] and that none other than the author of the

[1] Ramsay makes out a strong circumstantial case for the original of the figure in the vision being a special Macedonian already known to Paul. "There was nothing distinctive in the dress of a Macedonian [as such] to mark him out from the rest of the world"; while the form of the Greek words (*ἀνὴρ Μακεδών τις*) seems to imply a definite individual. If this be granted, there is no reason

present narrative, and apparently also of the whole work in which the "we" sections form the bulk of the latter part.

The harbor of Troas was a main link between Asia and Macedonia, which we are not to think of as adjacent parts of two continents so much as of sister provinces closely united by the easy pathway of the sea. Luke "has the true Greek feeling for the sea," and so on this as on other occasions "records the incidents from harbor to harbor."

From Troas they made a straight run to the island of Samothrace, and on the day following came to anchor at Neapolis, the port whence the road led inland to Philippi. This city, we are told with a touch of local knowledge and perhaps of local pride, was the leading city of its division of Macedonia,[1] and in status a Roman *Colonia*. Here the party made some stay, though not for so long as they themselves would have wished. Their Gospel gained its first footing, as usual, where the soil had been prepared by Judaism. In this case the scene of their first preaching was the praying-place (*Proseuchê*), in default of a synagogue, on the bank of the river outside the city. Their audience was mostly com-

for refusing to identify such an one with Luke himself, who had some connection with Philippi, though he may have been then plying his profession of physician in Troas. But the immediate association of himself with the call to evangelize the Macedonians argues him already a Christian of some experience.

[1] Its rival to the title of "First" was Amphipolis; and Luke's statement is perhaps truer to the date of his writing than to that of the actual moment of Paul's visit, when Philippi was first in its own opinion rather than by general consent.

posed of women; and among them was a proselytess, a native of Thyatira and an agent for the purple dyed garments for which the district of Lydia was famed. Deriving her name from her country, Lydia, who was probably a widow living in the honorable freedom which marked women both in Asia Minor and Macedonia, must have been a householder of some substance. Accordingly, proving herself a receptive hearer from the first, after she and hers were baptized, she insisted on Paul and his party becoming her guests. And in this connection it is interesting to notice that when Paul wrote to the Philippians some twelve years later, women were still prominent in the service of the Church (iv. 2).

One day, when on their way to the *proseuché*, the party was met by a slave-girl possessed of a soothsaying spirit, which brought her owners large receipts. Her unstrung mind, rendered the more abnormal by her very belief in its own supernatural possession, was hyper-acute in its perceptions, especially as regards the moral magnetism of strong personalities. She felt strangely moved by the proximity of these men of faith, and followed them vaguely ejaculating her impressions. And it is noteworthy that the title, "God the Highest" (*Hypsistos*), of which she made use in expressing her sense of their divine call to declare "a Way of Salvation," is one known to have been in wide use on both sides of the Bosphorus. This lasted over a period of many days: until at length, Paul in vexation turned and adjured the spirit in the name of his Master to leave her. His words told straightway: with the result that

forthwith the owners, in chagrin at their loss, hurried Paul and Silas to the market-place and before the magistrates, who were here locally and by courtesy styled *prætors*. Little could have been made of a complaint touching what had actually occurred: and so, utilizing the general suspicion of Jews, they lodged a vague charge of disturbance to the peace and order of the city, and of inculcating anti-Roman usages. The latter point, which might be construed to amount to treason, was skilfully chosen in a Roman colony. It was one on which it was the interest of local magistrates to exhibit the greatest sensitiveness. So while the mob was roused against the defendants on both counts, the *prætors* rent their garments in loyal horror, and showed their zeal by ordering them to be scourged. And the fact that the order was executed before their protest, that they were Roman citizens, and as such exempt from the degradation, could gain attention, suggests the tumultuary nature of the whole proceedings. This is further borne out by the way in which the magistrates tried shamefacedly to get rid of them quietly on the morrow.

The story of their imprisonment under the hardest conditions, of their joyous fortitude, of the earthquake and the jailer's awakening in that time of fear, of the conversion of himself and his household which followed—all this needs no retelling.[1] Next morning the magistrates rather lamely sent to order their release. Paul, however, would not accept this without some amends made for the illegal step of

[1] Several points of detail are treated in Ramsay's *St. Paul*, 220 ff.

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punishing men, and those Roman citizens, before their case had been investigated (*re incognita*, see Ramsay, 225). So the prætors have to come apologetically and beg them—probably in distrust of their own ability to keep order, should difficulty again occur—to leave the city. This they did, after visiting Lydia's house and exhorting the brethren, who most likely continued to meet there subsequently for fellowship. The whole account of these troubles at Philippi is couched in the third person: probably the eyewitness was not himself directly involved; and as the first person is not resumed, he may have remained behind to take the lead among the converts.[1] Yet the narrative does not seem to suffer much in vividness and accuracy, at least in certain parts, like the account of Paul in Athens. And as it keeps closely to Paul even when Silas and Timothy are absent, one may conjecture that it goes back to notes by his personal attendant, possibly Titus.

The road now taken was the *Via Egnatia*, which lay through Amphipolis and Apollonia:[2] but nothing of moment occurred until they reached Thessalonica, a free city, where was a synagogue of the Jews. Hither, as was his wont, Paul made his

[1] Cf. 2. Cor. viii. 18, where with Titus is sent from Macedonia to Corinth, in connection with the collection for Jerusalem, "the brother whose praise in the Evangel extends through all the Churches," in whom many see Luke.

[2] The fact that these cities are named at all rather suggests that some converts were made there. And that Acts relates only part, the most typical part, of the Macedonian Mission seems proved by the broad terms of certain references to believers in that quarter (1 Thess. i. 7; iv. 10) and to the "Churches of Macedonia" a little later (2 Cor. viii. 1; cf. Phil. iv. 15).

way, and for three Sabbaths discussed with them from the Scriptures: opening out their meaning and quoting them to prove that it was proper for the Messiah to suffer and rise again from among the dead (cf. 1 Cor. xv. 3, 4), and that "the Messiah is this man, the very Jesus whom I am proclaiming to you." Some of these Jews believed and attached themselves to Paul and Silas; as did also ere long a large body of Greeks more or less influenced by the synagogue, and not a few of the leading women.[1] The larger work (1 Thess. i. 8, 9), mainly subsequent to the three Sabbaths above named, must have covered some weeks at least, to judge both by the language of 1 Thess. i.–ii., and the reference to material help more than once received from Philippi (Phil. iv. 16) to supplement Paul's own earnings (1 Thess. ii. 9) during the season in question. Ultimately Jewish jealousy found vent, through an alliance with the dregs of the market-place. A riot was got up: the house of Jason, a Jew (cf. Rom. xvi. 21) with whom the Apostles were staying, was assaulted: and when they failed to find the prey, they solaced themselves by hauling Jason and certain brethren before the local magistrates, correctly styled *Politarchs*. Their cry was: "They who have turned the civilized world upside down,[2] these have come

[1] Ramsay (p. 227) would here follow the weaker MSS., in order to get a more explicit reference to the heathen antecedents of the bulk of the converts, as implied in 1 Thess. i. 9; ii. 14. Probably needlessly, as Luke is emphasizing as usual the Jewish beginnings, and had not first-hand knowledge of the early days of the Thessalonian Church.

[2] A phrase possibly implying widespread, if vague, rumors about the Christians.

hither also: and Jason hath taken them in. And these, one and all, are acting in the teeth of Cæsar's laws, alleging that there is another Emperor,[1] Jesus." Such charges upset both the crowd and the politarchs, who took securities for good behavior from Jason and the others before letting them go. How serious was the danger and how severe the persecutions which ensued for the converts, we gather from Paul's own words in 1 Thess. i.–ii. The only thing to do was to send Paul and Silas away by night, and to hope that they might be able to return quietly ere long. That Paul cherished this plan he tells us explicitly in 1 Thess. ii. 18, adding that on two several occasions he was balked by Satan, words behind which the preceding context would lead us to suspect some specially malignant Jewish devices.

Meantime he began work in the synagogue at Berœa, which lay to the southwest and still in Macedonia. Here the Jews behaved more nobly than in Thessalonica, being more ingenuously minded toward the Scripture proofs alleged, and not suffering the sight of the many Gentile converts both from among the men and the well-born Greek ladies to hinder conviction. But the Jews of Thessalonica would not let Paul alone, and began to stir up trouble for him here also. The brethren, however, sent the prime actor betimes down to the seacoast,[2]

[1] A charge due to the Jews, who alone would understand the kingly aspect of Messiahship.

[2] Thessaly though now part of Macedonia was less Romanized than the region Paul was leaving. Can it be that Paul had some thought of returning by ship to Thessalonica (cf. 1 Thess. ii. 18), but found his way barred, and so went on to Athens?

while Silas and Timothy were able to remain to consolidate what had been done. Once Athens was reached, Paul seems to have sent for his companions to join him, probably in order to relieve his mind by fresh news and to take counsel how best to help the much-tried converts in Thessalonica in particular. This we gather from 1 Thess. ii. 17–iii. 5, which lets us see the anxious workings of the Apostle's loving heart and at the same time supplements the course of events in Acts. For while it is doubtful whether Silas was able to leave Berœa at once (1 Thess. iii. 1, 2), Timothy clearly obeyed the summons, and was sent back to Thessalonica to cheer the brethren and to report their state. This he was able to do later in terms that gladdened Paul's heart (iii. 6–10).

But before Timothy's arrival,[1] Paul had been stirred, even amid his deep anxiety, by the sight of the idolatrous appearance of Athens; and feeling he must open his mouth, he began to discuss in the synagogue with the Jews and the non-Jewish adherents, as also in the Agora with any chance comers. In so doing he encountered certain Epicurean and Stoic philosophers, some of whom began to say to each other in supercilious astonishment, "What

[1] Acts xvii. 16; but during the activity described in v. 17, Timothy probably came and went again. For Timothy cannot have been so long in fulfilling the behest of xvii. 15 as would be involved in making xviii. 5 describe his first reunion with Paul. Dr. Rendel Harris believes that Timothy carried a (lost) letter to Thessalonica and brought back one in reply, the sentiments of which are echoed in 1 Thess. (*Expositor*, Sept. 1898).

would this ignorant tattler[1] be at?" And others, "He appears to be a setter forth of foreign divinities": since he was telling the good news of Jesus and of the Resurrection. This mistaken personification of "the resurrection," as if it were some mystical entity, is wholly true to Paul's emphasis on it, not merely as a fact in Christ's history, but also as something having a bearing on the spiritual experience of those who by faith become one with Him. The picture here, as in the ensuing scene, is (as Ramsay has admirably shown) very characteristic of Athenian life. "Luke places before us the man who became 'all things to all men,' and who therefore in Athens made himself like an Athenian and adopted the regular Socratic style of general free discussion in the Agora." In thinking of Paul in Athens, it is useful to remember that his native Tarsus was then a great centre of academic culture, and that hence this was not the first time he had breathed the atmosphere of a University city. "The mere Jew could never have assumed the Attic tone as Paul did." Yet that we are here dealing with no idealized picture, is shown by the simple fact that instead of making the Apostle proceed as a matter of course to break a lance with false philosophy, the historian informs us that Paul originally intended only to wait at Athens for news; and that the duty of speech was forced on him by sheer religious indignation and pity, as the practical idolatry of the place grew upon

[1] *Spermológos*, "a crude plagiarist," "a retailer of odds and ends," was probably Athenian slang for one "out of it" as regards genuine culture.

him. But once drawn into the work, he adjusted himself to local conditions with his wonted versatility.

The upshot of his informal discussion with the philosophers in that open air university, the Athenian Agora, where the chief interest of citizens and foreigners alike was "to say or hear something new" and smart, was the highly dramatic "Address on Mars' Hill."

We need not be surprised at this. The initial difficulties in the way of a clear understanding were enormous, where men's antecedents differed so widely. And when we remember that some of Paul's hearers may have only caught scraps of informal conversation, to which they had not the key, it was no wonder that opinions were divided as to the calibre of the speaker and as to the drift of his meaning. It was natural then that an effort should be made to at least master what the man meant to say in some connected fashion. This, the historian is careful to remind us, did not imply any serious concern with the end he had in view: it was a new intellectual sensation with which to while away the time. And so they lay hold on Paul and lead him off to a spot where a connected declamation, after the fashion of itinerant philosophic rhetoricians,[1] was

[1] Such "displays" (*epideixeis*) were a feature of the culture of the age (Hatch's *Hibbert Lectures*, ii. and iv.). I cannot follow Ramsay in making this an ordeal before the Council of Areopagus, to test Paul's qualifications and character as an authorized teacher. There is no *a priori* difficulty about Areopagus in the sense of the Court: but there is also no trace, either in what precedes or in what follows (vv. 32, 33) the Speech, that anything more than personal and unofficial curiosity was being gratified. Nothing happens.

feasible. The distractions of the Agora are left behind, and the quiet Hill is gained. And there, in the very midst of Athens, its sights and its traditions, Paul stood forth to expound his "new teaching," his audience embracing not only the philosophers themselves but also an outer circle, so easily gathered in the city where leisure was abundant and the taste for intellectual novelty universal.

The line taken was masterly. Paul does not indeed view pagan belief and worship as a modern scholar would, whose business it is to understand how such things arise and what idealism lurks for the idealist in the sensuous and mechanical forms of ancient cults. For this, after all, is an abstract and therefore unreal version of the facts, as every Indian or Chinese missionary will testify in relation to the religions that confront him. And Paul saw with the eye of the missionary, the man to whom sin is the one supreme problem and deliverance therefrom the real business of religion. Yet his attitude was a really sympathetic one. Hollowness and moral impotence, if not worse, marked actual "idolatry" as a system: and he felt a passionate pity for the souls of men blinded thereby and prevented from feeling to the full their real need. He saw behind the results to the groping that gave even superstitious rites a pathetic dignity amid all their triviality and routine: and he tried to meet the soul of paganism half-way, coming to it in its twilight and so gradually leading it onward as it could bear it. "The popular philosophy inclined toward pantheism, the popular religion was polytheistic; but Paul starts from the simplest

platform common to both. There exists something in the way of a divine nature which the religious try to please and the philosophers try to understand." And to this he boldly appeals. "Men of Athens," he began, "I observe that you are in all respects unusually given over to the worship of divinities: for as I was going through your city and surveying the monuments of your devotion, I came also upon an altar with the inscription '*To* (*an*) *Unknown God*.' That divine nature, then, which you worship, not knowing what it is, that am I setting forth to you." And so he proceeds to utter in lofty language the profoundest ideas of natural theology, pressing into the service not only the deeper intuitions of the Stoics as to the immanent presence of the Divine in and with the human, but even a fine, if familiar, maxim of the Greek poets—"for even His offspring are we." Then casting a glance back from these higher levels, in order to shame by contrast the crude materialism of the current cults, he proceeds to the thought of a climax toward which God in providence has been leading up, and wherein revelation breaks forth decisively and in universal form, in the person of a Man in whom the conditions of repentance unto righteousness are fully realized. In him, then, a world-wide judgment is rendered possible; and his designation to this dignity is proved to all by his having been raised from the dead.

But at this, the thought of a resurrection of the dead, his audience broke in, some with scoffs, some with the evasive remark that they would hear him

further on the point another day. They had actually heard enough for their purpose. They had "taken the measure of their man," and were satisfied that their first impressions were right: that he had no plausible "wisdom," couched in fine suggestive phrases, to impart, but was in fact a religious enthusiast.

He too had taken their measure, and, what was of yet greater significance, had gained experience as to how *not* to approach men such as these typical Greeks, priding themselves in verbal wisdom, and unawakened to the soul's tragedy of sin, bondage, and emancipation. And the fruits of this lesson will be seen in his policy from the first at Corinth. Yet a few did respond, heart to heart, even in Athens,[1] though the fact is intimated in such a way as to enforce the contrast with the simpler Macedonians. One man of some standing is named. But there are no "women of good birth"; only one whose name indicates obscure, possibly foreign origin. And it is well known that the history of the Church of Athens is a blank to us till two or three generations have passed. "Which things are a parable." For "boasting is excluded," whether that of Pharisaic self-sufficiency or that of shallow intellectualism.

Soon after, Paul left Athens,—apparently relinquishing his original purpose, which was there to

[1] Athens was a free, allied city-state, first of a number scattered throughout the province of Achæa but not subject to its provincial authorities. Hence "the household of Stephanas" was in fact "the first-fruits of Achæa" (1 Cor. xvi. 15). There was a "Union (*κοινὸν*) of the Achæans" embracing most of Greece south of Thermopylæ, but excluding Athens, Sparta, and other free states.

await Timothy to see whether the way was open for his return to Thessalonica—and went on to Corinth, situate near the neck of land between the eastern and western seas, and a place of business and pleasure rather than of restless intellect. And here he formed a friendship which probably helped to turn his eyes Rome-wards, somewhat as Luke's presence at Troas may have given definite direction to the first European journey. Aquila, a Jew of Pontus, and his wife Priscilla were fresh arrivals from Italy, having left at the first promulgation of Claudius' edict for expelling Jews from Rome—an edict occasioned by frequent rioting among them "at the instigation of Chrestus," as the Roman writer Suetonius has it. It arose out of friction due to the preaching of Jesus as the Christ in the Jewish quarter. This edict may be assigned to the latter half of 50 A. D., and Paul's arrival consequently to about the end of that year. It seems to have been their common handicraft, as tentmakers, that caused Paul to share their lodgings. But they may well have met first in the synagogue, where he began to discourse every Sabbath and made some converts among both Jews and Greeks. The arrival, however, of both Silas and Timothy from Macedonia marked a fresh epoch in his preaching. Whether it was that all hope of returning thither was now definitely postponed, or that he was nerved by their presence and the good news they brought of the power of God made manifest among the Gentiles—or perhaps both combined—at any rate Paul felt the constraint of his message yet stronger upon him, and with yet greater earnestness

delivered to the Jews his solemn testimony to the Messiahship of Jesus. This soon led to their assuming a more set attitude of opposition. And as they began to blaspheme the name of Jesus, Paul felt his mission to them here also was accomplished, and with a protestation of his freedom from further responsibility he turned directly to the heathen.[1] Accordingly he changed his place of teaching to the house of a proselyte named Titius Justus, who lived next door to the synagogue. He was followed by Crispus (cf. 1 Cor. i. 14) the ruler of the synagogue, who believed along with all his household. Meantime many of the Corinthians began to hear and believe and receive baptism; and the importance of the work thus begun was emphasized for Paul by a night-vision, bidding him speak on, since his Lord had "much people in this city." Accordingly he settled down for a stay which proved to be one of eighteen months' continuous teaching.

It was soon after the coming of Silas and Timothy that Paul wrote the first of the two letters to "the Church composed of Thessalonians," in the name of himself and his two comrades. It is very difficult to say how much of the first person plural, in which it is couched, is to be taken literally rather than as the common device to avoid an egotistic tone (*e. g.*, as in iii. 6). Certain it is that the letter reveals Paul's

[1] Ramsay comments thus: "The distinction between the period of work in the synagogue and that of direct preaching to the populace, is expressed with marked emphasis at Corinth. Corinth stood on the high-road between Rome and the East: and was therefore one of the greatest centres of influence in the Roman world."

deeply emotional nature, especially in the earlier part, which repeats and continues, as it were, his personal intercourse with his converts; while it also reflects with extraordinary vividness his own moments of solicitude and of triumphant gratitude. Indeed these two letters are hardly equalled even by those to the Galatians and Corinthians, in that direct, easy, conversational manner which is the peculiar quality of a genuine letter, marking it off from the studied epistle. The former is spontaneous, poured forth to readers whose bodily absence is a mere accident: the latter is more self-conscious, reflective, restrained—in a word, more literary. The letter reveals the writer as man even more than as thinker. And for such self-revelation, controlled by an exquisite taste that stops short at the right point of allusiveness (so that we never get the feeling that the writer is interested in himself, even where he has to be most self-assertive)—for this mode of utterance Paul had a genius that has never been surpassed. His letters were indeed "the lifeblood of a noble spirit" pouring itself forth in love, now solicitous, now exultant. But for the same reason they present us likewise with glimpses of his correspondents' feelings and situation, which in their photographic vividness and self-evident fidelity are our most precious data for a knowledge of the Apostolic Age, not only in its generality but also in its variety of local color and detail.

And here we have the key to a good many problems in the interpretation of Paul and of his age. He wrote primarily as the prince of missionaries

rather than as the theologian. This means that he was not engaged in developing a system of thought in logical order, but in applying certain vital and far-reaching principles (given from the first in his own conversion) to the variety of conditions in which he found his actual readers. He writes to feed them, not to evolve his own thought. Hence the wonder that has sometimes been expressed as to the doctrinal colorlessness of the Thessalonian letters, the absence of "the distinctively Pauline Gospel," is quite needless. That Paul already possessed such a Gospel is clear from the Galatian letter, which, even assuming that it had not already been written, yet contains a retrospective passage (Gal. ii. 15–21) which goes back beyond the date of his first European Mission. And the fact that he does not here and now express himself in the way referred to, proves simply that he was no theological partisan with a "fixed idea" and a monotonous emphasis, but a wise and loving missionary. He dealt with his converts as a nurse, or as a father with his own children (1 Thess. ii. 7–11), adapting himself to their immediate needs and capacities. His Gospel was a life rather than a theory, however sublime. Yet, even so, we find his emphasis on "faith," "love," and "hope," involved in the very texture of these "primer-epistles" of Christian piety (see 1 Thess. i. 3; iii. 2, 6, 10). He is aware that there are "things lacking" to their faith. But after all, their faith is rooted in God as Father and Jesus Christ as Lord (i. 1); his Gospel has manifested itself in them "in power and holy enthusiasm and much assurance" (i. 5), not merely in

word ; and the full test of both is the joyous staying power which they have shown under much persecution. Hence the ringing note of both letters is the hope toward God in Christ which meets their pressing need.

Accordingly these letters emphasize an aspect of Christian hope, as it existed in the early days of the Church's life, which gradually receded into the background as experience interpreted the ways of God more fully than was at first possible even to the most inspired of Apostles. But since it was thus characteristic of that first age, determined so profoundly the exact form and perspective of its thoughts, and moulded certain of its usages—explains, indeed, so much of its very genius as an age among ages—it is needful to realize this fact fully and frankly. And yet there are hindrances to our so doing, hindrances due not only to inability to put ourselves back into the situation as it presented itself to a long-past age, but also to dogmatic prejudice against all idea that Apostles could have continued under the influence of any of their older Jewish modes of thinking, where these were not really of a piece with the new revelation. To this we may have to revert later on, as part of the large and grave problem of the presence of merely relative elements in a Gospel of absolute and final significance. Meanwhile it is as clear as day that Paul led his converts to expect that the final Presence (*Parousia*) or Return of their Lord might be looked for in their own lifetime, nay that it was probably "at the door." This comes out clearly in the way in which he consoles their perplexity at

the fact that one or more of their number had apparently failed of their hope, in falling asleep during the few months since he had left them. He explains that it will make no difference; for those asleep in Jesus will rise again in time to join their surviving friends in the final Rapture, "to meet the Lord in the sky." In so speaking he assents to the general idea that they had of the time and nature of the Parousia, and only adds a missing link in their thoughts. The foreshortened perspective and the catastrophic character of the Hope are taken for granted, in keeping with certain pre-Christian apocalyptic speculations already described, and to which further reference will be made in the sequel. Again, the Apostle here alludes to imminent "wrath" (such as that overhanging obdurate Judaism), as that from which these elect souls are rescued in Christ (i. 10, v. 9, cf. ii. 16). But this is a thought which recedes in his later epistles behind that of the present experience of redemption enjoyed through union with Christ in the Spirit—a thought far deeper than is conveyed by the assurance that Christians, with or without the sleep of death, should alike one day live together with Christ (v. 10). Nor is it idle to conjecture that Paul's experience of the effects of preoccupation with the Parousia in the case of the Thessalonians, may have contributed to this change of emphasis. For not only did it lend itself easily to unsettling versions as to its approach, such as he has to deal with in 2 Thess. ii.; but it also seems to have been practically abused by some, who began to cease from their wonted avocations and in other-worldly idleness to

become a burden on the resources of their fellows and a scandal to "those without" (1 Thess. iv. 11; 2 Thess. iii. 6–13).

In this connection the Apostle appeals pointedly to his own example of industrious toil, which placed him beyond all plausible imputation of self-interest, a charge which seems to have been set afloat against him, (most probably by Jewish jealousy, 1 Thess. ii. 5–10) and touching which unpleasant earlier experiences may have made him sensitive (cf. 2 Thess. iii. 8, 9). Other charges which he zealously disclaims are those of official Apostolic pride, guileful wheedling, and even impure suggestion—insinuations which show the bitterness of the resentment awakened in one quarter or another by his great successes. More direct proof of the great impression produced is to be seen in the fame of the Thessalonian mission, not only among the other believers in Macedonia (including perhaps Amphipolis and Apollonia, as well as Philippi) and Achaia, but also in the mouths of men at large (Jews in the main?) in the same regions and even far beyond.[1] This faith of theirs meant a life radically in contrast with heathen standard—a walk in keeping with certain precepts, based on words of Jesus (iv. 1, 2), which had been taught them as a more or less complete body of Christian ethics (cf. 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14). And it is striking that the two

[1] Such widespread rumors imply the lapse of considerable time between his leaving Thessalonica and writing 1 Thess. This favors Rendel Harris' theory that 1 Thess. contains echoes of a letter from the Thessalonians sent in reply to Paul's enquiries in a yet earlier letter of his, the slight and occasional character of which caused it to pass early into oblivion (*Expositor*, Sept., 1898).

cardinal graces specified (in contrast to pagan ideals), purity and unselfish love, are referred to the first principle of the new life, the gift of the Holy Spirit[1] and the new impulses thus begotten (iv. 8, 9).

In this respect one is reminded of the tone of Gal. v. 16–vi. 10, a resemblance which becomes the more close when we take 1 Thess. v. 11–15 into account. In both we find mutual exhortation, beneficence, and burden-bearing; in both the same sense of a diffused responsibility among the brethren, together with the first beginnings of a differentiation between believers as a body and certain leading brethren of special spirituality and influence (v. 12, 13; cf. Gal. vi. 1, 6). Their leadership is literally "ministry," devoted service, informal in character. Its essence is solicitude like that of elder brethren, who "take pains" for the instruction of their juniors in faith, act as their guardians (the more naturally that they were often the hosts of the *ecclesia*, which met in some leading believer's house), and put them in mind of their Christian duties. For such is bespoken the recognition and peculiar regard of the community on account of their good work (1 Thess. v. 12, 13); just as in Galatians (vi. 6) the recognition of material support of his "instructor in the Word" is enjoined on the person undergoing definite instruction in the words

[1] The relation of the Spirit to "prophesyings," or highly spontaneous utterances, is implied in 1 Thess. v. 20, in regard to which we also gather that there was some reaction of feeling caused by abuses (cf. 2 Thess. ii. 2 for a spirit-message). Paul's answer to this is an appeal to the Spirit in the brethren as a whole, who can discern spirits and so "separate the precious from the vile."

of Jesus (*catechizing*). This is all that we find so far of the organization of the Christian life; and its highly spontaneous character on both sides, is made yet more evident from what is said of the nearly contemporary volunteer service discharged in Corinth by "first-fruits" like the household of Stephanas (1 Cor. xvi. 15, 16, 18).

And so we return to follow the fortunes of the Gospel in Corinth, where the Apostles were meanwhile laboring, cheered and in part sustained in things material by the loyalty of the Philippian Church (Phil. iv. 15; 2 Cor. xi. 8, 9). At some uncertain stage in his work among the Greeks, the Jews in jealousy made a dead set at Paul and tried to get the Roman governor (proconsul) of Achaia, at this time the brother of the philosopher Seneca, to execute their wishes. They couched their charge in terms that seemed serious because they were vague. But Gallio saw through their purpose and, doubtless by a series of apt questions, elicited the fact that by "the Law" they meant simply the idiosyncrasies and technicalities, as a Roman would regard them, of their own national usages. Once this was clear the case was at an end. Such things were, as he rightly said, no business of his, being questions of doctrine, not deed, names, not things, of their own law, not Roman law. Such things came under their own local jurisdiction; and he would not be drawn into treating them as grave enough for his own court. The Jews felt baffled; and in their chagrin took Gallio at his word so far as to exercise their jurisdiction, to the allowable extent of stripes, upon Sosthenes

the *archisynagogus*, before the proconsul's very seat. As they chose a safe scapegoat, one of their own colony, Gallio did not trouble to hinder them. But there is no reason to doubt that this Sosthenes was the same as Paul's friend named in the address of his first extant Corinthian letter, and that he had already followed the example of his late colleague, Crispus, and become a Christian.[1]

It has been said with justice that this residence of at least eighteen months (xviii. 4) in Corinth was an epoch in Paul's life; and that in two respects. First it must have confirmed his feeling that Roman law, when rightly administered, was on his side: and this will have important consequences some years later. And next it must have afforded him leisure to study the problems in applied Christianity which were sure to crop up in actual experience (as on the modern mission-field), when the Gospel seed fell into soil so alien in many ways as the Corinthian Greek. To this we may trace something of the increased maturity and definiteness in the teaching of the next group of letters, those to Corinth itself and the epistle to believers in Rome. But at last he made up his mind that the time had come to renew his relations with the home churches of Syria, probably for the sake of that unification in spirit which lay so near to his heart. Before starting from the eastern port of Corinth, Cenchreæ, he performed a rite which shows how strong upon him was the hold of ancestral

[1] This is the natural meaning of the best text, of which the inferior MSS. have a fallaciously easy correction, making the Greeks the assailants and Sosthenes the plaintiff in the baffled suit.

piety. Such ties of feeling were far from broken by his revulsion from Judaic legalism.[1] In this case the ceremonial cropping of the hair was the outward sign of the commencement of a vow,[2] probably putting him under special Divine protection against Jewish machinations during his voyage (perhaps in company with Jewish pilgrims, cf. xx. 3).

On arrival at Ephesus with Aquila and Priscilla, his restless zeal led him to utilize some unavoidable delay before reëmbarking, in discoursing in the synagogue on his Lord's claims. The reception was so far favorable[3] that he was asked to stay and continue his teaching. But he felt bound to press on and complete his first European journey as already determined, promising, however, to return should such be God's will—alluding to the providential hindrance which had formerly barred his steps when making for Asia and Ephesus. And it is to the realization of this hope that Acts now hurries forward. He resumed his voyage, landed at Cæsarea, went up and saluted the Mother Church (how much this may have meant for continued good understanding with the Jerusalem authorities!), and then once more found himself in the bosom of the Antiochene Church after some three years' absence.

[1] Thus even when pressed for time, he stayed to keep Passover at Philippi; Acts xx. 6: see also Rom. ix. 4; x. 2.

[2] Josephus (*Jewish War*, ii. 15, 1) says that it was customary for those in sickness or other distress to make a vow, to be redeemed at the end of the month. Luke's reference to this vow supports the view that Paul was bound for Jerusalem, not merely for Cæsarea, as some suppose from v. 22.

[3] It is inconceivable that no believers in Jesus as Messiah already existed among the Ephesian Jews. But they had as yet assumed no distinct or organized being apart from their synagogues. In this latter sense the Ephesian Church was of Pauline foundation.

CHAPTER V.

WORK IN ASIA AND GREECE: CONSOLIDATION.

(*a*) *Ephesus* (Acts xviii. 23–xix. 22).

FOR awhile Paul rested body and soul in Antioch. But the more distant fields were ever calling: and ere long he started forth afresh, bound for Ephesus, yet not failing to make a complete visitation of his South Galatian Churches. It was on this occasion that he started among his converts that collection for "the poor saints" of the Jerusalem Church on which he relied for the removal of much prejudice in that quarter, and to the due presentation of which he devoted so great pains. Before he had passed, however, from Phrygian Galatia to Phrygian Asia, and by the higher-lying and more direct route some way to the north of the Lycus valley (where lay Colossæ and Laodicea) had arrived at last at Ephesus, certain events had already occurred in this metropolis which our historian evidently regarded as significant.

Priscilla and Aquila—for this is the order of spiritual activity in which they are thought of alike by Paul and Luke—had settled down for a time at least in Ephesus, plying their trade and also letting their light shine as opportunity offered. One day there stood up in the synagogue, which they frequented,

a stranger of striking gifts as a speaker and expounder of the Scriptures.[1] And what was their delight to hear him discourse with Alexandrine subtlety and finish on the Messianic prophecies, with a view to prove that in Jesus was their true fulfilment. It was obvious that he had received catechetical instruction in "the Way of the Lord," that is, the more striking sayings of Jesus and the broad outlines of His life. Yet fervid as was his spirit, there was something lacking to the fulness of his knowledge.[2] They invited this brother Jew, Apollos by name, to their home; and there completed his instruction in the Way of God. In particular they told him that there was a baptism of higher order than that of John—the only one of which he had hitherto heard—a Spirit-baptism, which not only confirmed the heart in a cleansing penitence (befitting humble hope in a coming Deliverer, as the Baptist had taught, cf. xix. 4), but also imparted a new "spirit of life in Christ Jesus" which wrought in the heart like fire. Apollos accepted the message of Pentecost. But it is not said that he was baptized afresh; possibly it was felt unfitting that a man who had already given proof of

[1] The hints afforded by what follows, of the date and nature of the origins of the Alexandrine Church are most valuable, if unsatisfying. It was obviously not yet fully in touch with the type of Christianity prevalent in Jerusalem (*e. g.*, as to the Christian Pentecost and the baptism based thereon).

[2] May not his defect have lain largely in a lack of appreciation of the Death of Messiah? For this was no part of the Messianic Hope, and, as we shall yet see, long remained anything but "the centre of light" to Judæo-Christians.

the Spirit's power (unlike those soon to be named) should be put through the initial rite of entry into the New Israel. In course of time he came to hear of the work begun at Corinth, perhaps through the coming to Ephesus of some of the brethren. But in any case he began to burn to exercise his ministry in its new fulness among so important a body of recent converts. The brethren on the spot seconded his wish with a letter of commendation to the disciples in Achaia: and ere long he proved himself of great service to these believers by his spiritual gift. Especially was this the case in the controversy with the Jews, against whom he maintained publicly and effectively his Scriptural argument that Jesus was the Anointed One.[1]

It is not easy to be sure of Luke's motive for introducing this episode. Some seek it in a desire to supply a background to the notices of Apollos in 1 Corinthians. It seems better, however, to bring it more into line with the general purpose of Acts, namely to signalize the place of the Spirit in the progress of the Gospel and its victory over Judaism. So viewed, its lesson is further illustrated by the somewhat parallel case[2] which follows immediately, in

[1] This, along with vv. 24, 25, gives us valuable insight into the Alexandrine allegorizing "wisdom" or *gnosis* which so much took the fancy of the Apollos-party in Corinth. Apollos' style and methods would be more or less fixed before he obtained a full grip upon the historical side of Jesus the Christ from Priscilla and Aquila.

[2] Did we know more of the special history of thought in Christian circles in Ephesus, we might possibly see more point in this narrative: cf. John i. 8, 15; 1 John v. 6, for possible allusions to a tendency to make the Baptist the rival of Him whom he heralded.

connection with Paul's arrival at Ephesus. We have no reason to connect the "disciples" in question with Apollos or his special antecedents, save in so far as his case disproves the idea, already discountenanced by the term "disciples" itself, that such were mere disciples of John and not professedly Christians. They evidently moved on a far lower level of spiritual experience than Apollos. For a certain lifelessness about them made Paul ask in surprise if they had received "holy spirit" (the peculiar joyous enthusiasm, the seal of faith, Eph. i. 13) when they first believed. They replied that they had not even heard that there was such a thing to be had (*i. e.*, they imagined this, like other Messianic blessings, to be yet in the future). What kind of baptism, then, had they received, asked the Apostle. That of John, was the reply. That, rejoined he, was but a baptism of repentance preparatory to positive trust in the Coming One, even Jesus. "Into the name of the Lord Jesus" they were accordingly baptized, and so into the present foretaste of His Spirit—the Spirit animating His Body as such (1 Cor. xii. 13). The solemnity of the act was heightened by the participation of the Apostle himself, through laying on of hands. As this was not Paul's usual habit (1 Cor. i. 14, 17), the peculiarity of the case and the obvious dulness of the men's spiritual life, as compared with the already quickened Apollos, probably led Paul to consider such coöperation expedient as an aid to faith. The special manifestations of the Spirit followed in the forms most decisive and confirmatory of faith. Thus the case of these dozen

men became no doubt an important precedent and example of the difference between a vague belief in Jesus on old Judaic and futurist lines, and a genuine trust in Him as a present Redeemer through the Spirit, as declared in His own Gospel.

And now began in earnest Paul's mission in Ephesus, which for some three months centred in the synagogue, where he reasoned at length on the Kingdom of God as now revealed. But, as at Corinth, so here certain Jewish hearts hardened into a bitter unbelief, which reviled the new Way before the mass of those present in the synagogue. Paul saw the hour of withdrawal approaching. Only in this case he chose as his next headquarters the school or lecture-room of a rhetorician, named Tyrannus. We even get a hint of the very hours of his day from a correct later amplification to the effect that his daily disputations (somewhat after the manner of the traveling lecturers common in that age and clime) were from the fifth to the tenth hour, *i. e.*, between eleven A. M. and four P. M. This would be "after business hours" as reckoned in Ephesus, and equally after Paul's labors at his own trade, to which he later refers in his farewell at Miletus to the Ephesian elders (xx. 34 f.). And so he continued for the space of two years, during which the Gospel spread—partly by the agency of comrades like Timothy (cf. Col. i. 1) and partly through the more indirect channels of social and commercial interchange—to all parts of the province of Asia, including not only Colossæ and Laodicea but also the Churches named in Revelation i.–iii.

Ephesus was in every sense a great focus of human life, a centre where blended East and West, mingling in strange, dazzling, demoralizing fashion. It was an exchange not only for material but also for mental wares. In this city the Greek and the "barbarian" in various degrees of crudity and refinement acted and reacted one on the other. Culture was there, but in the main of a showy, frivolous, and sensual type. Religion was everywhere in evidence, centring in the cult of the local guardian divinity, Artemis of Ephesus, really an Oriental nature-deity, whose temple was one of the world's wonders and whose clients of one kind or another largely colored the industry and society of the city. But nowhere was religion more a matter of superstition, sorcery, self-interest, and even sensuality. "Ephesian Letters," under which came certain magical formulæ, and "Ephesian Tales," both represent the morbid side of human life. And both its superstition and its boundless immorality have met with unsparing exposure in the letters of a philosophic observer, who may have dwelt in the city about a generation before Paul came thither, and who veiled his denunciations under the name of the great Ephesian, Heraclitus, the Dark Sage, who had flourished half a millennium earlier.

On such a background of superstition and chicanery we may be the less surprised to meet with the next scene presented in the vivid drama of Acts. Paul here appears as attracting much notice by the works of power wrought of God through his instrumentality, as if to wean the multitude from their

ruinous follies by manifested energies in which even their sense-bound religious preceptions could discover somewhat that spoke to them of the divine. That the Apostle was at times conscious of being the medium of superhuman energies we know from his own explicit witness (*e. g.*, Rom. xv. 18; 2 Cor. xii. 12); and this was doubtless one of the times in question, when a great crisis in the fortunes of his Gospel had been reached. But then the forms in which such power was popularly supposed to manifest itself (xix. 12) must be referred to the superstitious ideas of pagans and semi-pagans, rather than to Paul's own attitude. In these circumstances it is extremely difficult to give a fully satisfactory account of the actual facts, as distinct from the color they took to the popular mind in a city where exorcism and magic ran riot. Nor was there anywhere in that age the scientific knowledge needful to accurate discrimination of the physical and psychical, where the phenomena were complex.[1] It is clear, however, that as an "exorcist" Paul came into great repute through his marvelous control over disordered minds and wills, as we have seen in the case of the slave-girl at Philippi. And as all his confidence and consciousness of power centred in Jesus, his Lord, it was natural that certain exorcists should think that he used this sacred name as they did those in their magical formulæ. So was it with certain degenerate Jews, strolling exorcists, who, having utilized the name of the God of their fathers in the

[1] What this means may be gauged by the ideas touching witchcraft general both before and after the Reformation.

exercise of arts which tradition carried back to the wise Solomon[1] (as we find later among certain Gnostics and others), thought to add to their own the secret of a greater master in the dark craft, by invoking "the Jesus whom Paul preached." The disaster which this brought upon two of the sons of Sceva, a member of the Jewish high-priestly clan, while engaged in practicing these devices, is recorded as having turned this evil to the furtherance of the Gospel. For the successful assault of the possessed man on whom they were trying their new formula became matter of common talk in the city, among both Jews and Greeks: and an awful reverence for the name of Jesus crept over many minds. Specially had it the effect of causing believers who had hitherto not broken with their old superstitious practices, to do so now once for all. With consciences more enlightened, they came forward and made a clean breast of their past dabblings in magic, which was moreover usually directed to the basest ends. A number who had been more deeply involved went still further and openly burned their costly books of magic: so much so, that the total value mounted up to some £1800.

[1] Cf. Josephus *Ant.* viii. 2, 5, for the lore that came down under Solomon's great name, consisting of formulæ for exorcising the dæmons of disease, mental and physical. Magical formulæ were wont to pile up divine names from all quarters: cf. Wessely, *Ephesia Grammata*, p. 21, "I adjure thee by the God of the Hebrews, Jesus, Iaba, Iaeh, Abraoth." Strong light on this whole subject, as related to one side of later Judaism, is thrown by the apocryphal "Testament of Solomon" (translated by F. C. Conybeare in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, xi. 1–45), which probably has a first century basis at least.

So, by the Lord's might, the Word kept growing and prevailing.

Yet we are not left to suppose, as we might from Acts alone, that this progress was unattended by severe trial up to the eve of Paul's departure, which seems to have been hastened by the great riot. On the contrary, in his farewell to the Ephesian Elders at Miletus, Paul refers to the fact that his whole stay had been full of "tears and trials" that befell him through Jewish plots. These had indeed kept him specially meek in spirit; but they had had no power to make him withhold any word that could benefit any, whether in public or private, as he delivered his soul to Jew and Greek touching "repentance toward God and faith toward the Lord Jesus." From which we infer that every effort had been made by the Jews in particular to terrorize him into discreet silence. Similarly in 1 Corinthians, written nearer the end than the beginning of his residence in Ephesus, he exclaims: "Even unto this very hour we both hunger, and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and are homeless, and toil, laboring with our own hands"—reviled, persecuted, defamed, treated as the world's refuse, the offscouring of all things. His lot, as an Apostle, has been akin to that of a condemned criminal, made a gazing-stock, as it were, to the world of angels and men, and liable to every sort of indignity. But for a full sense of the risks run, we must go to other words in the same letter. Nothing, says he, but a sure and certain hope of a glorious resurrection could nerve a man for such experiences as his own. "Else why do we run a risk every

hour? Daily I go through the experience of death" —I solemnly aver it. "If, humanly speaking, I 'fought the beasts' in Ephesus, what boots it, unless the dead rise?" Here, behind the metaphor, lies something critical in the extreme, whether we suppose that his foes showed the ruthless ferocity of wild beasts, or that he was by them brought within measurable distance of being exposed in the arena as the result of being denounced to the proconsul for impiety or endangering public order. Verily, it is but the smaller part of this man's sufferings and achievements that we can picture to ourselves. But in spite of actual dangers and of his numerous enemies, a door of opportunity, great and effectual, opened up to him, especially in his last year in Ephesus;[1] and even before that date there were "churches of Asia," the fruits of Paul's presence in those parts, to send greetings to their unknown brethren in Achaia. The name of his first Asian convert, Epænetus, happens to be known to us (Rom. xvi. 5), as is also the loyal aid rendered to him in his need by a certain Onesimus (2 Tim. i. 18): while Trophimus and Tychicus may safely be thought of as converts of his Ephesian stay.

Meantime Paul had not been unmindful of his earlier Churches; and his imperial gaze was already beginning to fix itself on Rome as his next definite goal (Rom. xv. 22, 24), after another visit to Jerusalem with tokens of the loyal love of himself and his converts. And for the first step in this programme, a farewell visit to Macedonia and Achaia,

[1] 1 Cor. iv. 9–13; xv. 30 ff.; xvi. 5–9, 19.

he began to pave the way betimes, sending on two of his helpers, Timothy and Erastus, while he himself tarried yet a while in Asia. But behind this simple reference to Paul's projected movements, the main objects of which are left to emerge as the public narrative proceeds in Acts, there lay a domestic tragedy, as it were, reflected for us in the personal correspondence of the prime actor. To its history, then, which probably goes some way back behind the point recorded in Acts xix. 21, we must now turn aside.

(*b*) *The Corinthian Troubles.*

The composition of the Corinthian Church, as determined by the mixed population of the city and its special local conditions, was peculiarly complex. Corinth had always been a city of note; and since 46 B. C., when its prosperity was re-founded by Julius Cæsar in making it a Roman *Colonia*, it had attained great prosperity. Its situation, commanding the narrow isthmus between seas on the direct route from Asia to Rome, gave it unrivalled commercial opportunities. In these shared Romans, Greeks, Jews and other Orientals: while in the essentially cosmopolitan atmosphere of what was practically, though not actually, a great seaport, the thought of East and West in many forms contended or entered into fresh combinations. And the intellectual life was the more eager that the city had great traditions and yet greater ambitions in the sphere of cultured thought. Corinth had also an unenviable fame for its licentiousness, fostered by the local cult

of Aphrodite, which was not only on an enormous scale but also on Oriental rather than Greek lines, making vice a part of the religious life.

All these conditions are reflected in the Christian community as we know it from the vivid pages of Paul's letters. Romans, Greeks, Jews, were all represented, as we learn from Acts and the letters, which emphasize quite diverse aspects of the Church but supplement each other perfectly. This comes out interestingly in the converts whom Paul by exception baptized with his own hands, probably as typical cases of their class. Stephanas, the first convert (along with his household), was a Greek, probably a proselyte; Crispus was a ruler of the synagogue; Gaius was a Roman of some position, being referred to as "my host and of the Church at large" (*i. e.*, to Christians passing through Corinth, Rom. xvi. 23). And not only were there these mental types, the steady (if often coarse) Roman, the versatile and volatile Greek, the scrupulous Jew: but ere long their special tendencies were stimulated by Christian teachers corresponding thereto.

Paul's own message had been delivered in a purely religious and practical tone. In view of his recent experience of Greek tendencies at Athéns, and acutely conscious of his own impotence to meet the utter worldliness of Corinth and its idolatry of shallow intellectuality, he deliberately chose to emphasize not the wisdom but the sheer redemptive power of the Gospel. And his message of Jesus Christ as the Saviour who saves through the Cross, would appeal only to minds serious by nature or by

deep disillusioning experience. The Alexandrine subtlety and mysticism of the eloquent Apollos would appeal, not only to the Jews in virtue of its profound allegorizing of their Scriptures (in proof of the new Messianic ideal realized in Jesus), but also to the Greek love of the subtle and suggestive as such. And finally there came those who could appeal to the more Judaically minded. They emphasized the more national and literalistically historical aspect of Christianity, as determined by its Judæan origins. And they did so in two ways. Some, apparently the first comers, gloried in their having been admitted to the Messianic Kingdom by the chief of Messiah's own commissioned disciples, Cephas, as they called him in Jewish fashion. And they called on all to come into line with his ways as the only genuine and authoritative ones, those at least of whose validity men could be quite sure. He was the great guarantor, and they claimed to represent him in Corinth. The adherents of such teachers may be recognized chiefly among those of "weak" consciences in relation to foods offered to idols or otherwise causing scruple to the Jewish mind. This Cephas party did not directly challenge Paul's authority in Corinth (though they may have said that he was not entitled to the full status of an "Apostle," 1 Cor. ix. 1–6); but urged that there was a more excellent way, a fuller orthodoxy, of which Cephas was the type and witness.

Others, however, later arrivals[1] as it seems, rep-

[1] We gather that some of these came with letters of introduction from Judæa, addressed to no special community but meant

resenting the less spiritual side of Judæan Christianity, went further. Though they probably began tentatively and with mere emphasis on Christ as they conceived Him,[1] they finally challenged Paul's right to the place of respect and authority which he occupied as founder of the Corinthian Church. They compared him, to his disadvantage, not only with Cephas but also with themselves as "Apostles of Christ." They based their own claim to an authentic and superior apostleship upon the bare fact of having had personal experience of Jesus the Christ in His actual earthly life. They had seen Christ, Paul had not; therein lay a world of difference, as they judged. And they insinuated that Paul himself had virtually confessed his own inferiority by not having ventured to claim temporal support at the hands of his own church, as all regular Apostles made a habit of doing. But they were not content with thus trying to undermine Paul's position: they proceeded to assail his character and the purity of his motives in relation to the Corin-

to secure them a favorable reception wherever their mission work might carry them. The Pauline Missions had, no doubt, found imitators among Judaistic Christians, who may in some cases have carried even James' recommendation with them and have turned it to uses he would not have approved. Some of these missionaries may have been on their way to Rome, where the Jewish community was large and where Christ's name had already caused some ferment among Jews.

[1] Unless McGiffert, for instance, is right in supposing that those who said "I am of Christ" (in 1 Cor. i. 12, as contrasted with 2 Cor. x. 7; xi. 13, 23) were simply the party who piqued themselves on their independent insight and claimed to "know" Christ apart from Paul or any one else. The interlopers of 2 Cor., however, in any case took the line described in the text.

thians. When it was said that Paul had deliberately refrained from being a charge on his converts, in order to put his absolute disinterestedness above suspicion in an age when professional moral and religious lecturing was a common means of getting an easy and pleasant living, they seem to have replied: "Ah, yes: that is just like his cleverness—putting you off your guard to begin with, with a view to greater gain in the long run—the rogue" (πανοῦργος, 2 Cor. xii. 16). To such depths did some Judaizers stoop in their unholy zeal to supplant the man who had opened the door that would have remained forever closed to their exclusive spirit and methods.

Well might Paul stigmatize them as "underhand workers," proved by their conduct to be "false Apostles," masquerading as men commissioned of Christ (2 Cor. xi. 13), whose taunts should never beguile him into giving them a handle against him by now beginning to claim the true laborer's hire. If it came to the "foolish" game of "boasting" or commending oneself in words, he was not a whit behind these "superlative Apostles" who were challenging his right to the name (2 Cor. xi. 5; xii. 11). Even in the mere matter of what birth could give a man in a religious sense, he was all that these unworthy sons of Abraham, boasting a ministry derived directly from Christ Himself, were or could be. And his work proved it superabundantly, whether in deeds done or things suffered. As to their poor, carnal notion that they were somehow put on an unapproachable level by having known Jesus of Nazareth as any one man may know another in the flesh, he

had long since learned to set no store by such fleshly knowledge. Such knowledge of the kind as he himself had once possessed, he had put altogether out of account in the sphere of religion. Life "in Christ" was life in another sphere, where man saw, felt, thought, as a new creature, in ways quite other than those of mere natural or physical relations. To this knowledge Christ had brought him by the intuition of Himself as Crucified Love and Holiness: and in the constraining power of that vision he had labored more abundantly than any other Apostle, yet not he himself, but the grace of God with him.[1]

In saying so much, we have already anticipated a good deal, and have virtually answered many of the questions which emerge piecemeal in the two Corinthian letters that have come down to us. If we add the problems of conduct inevitably raised by the conflict between new and old in the moral and social consciousness of believers, whose standards of thought and feeling, and the values they had been wont to put upon the different aspects of human life, had recently been so alien to the mind of Christ—we see that there were present the promise and potency of almost endless troubles. And when we remember that all these factors were working among a few hundred people, living at very close quarters, we must feel how intense and perplexing must have been their church life, how fast the pace at which thought was moving, and how great the possibilities of friction, disunion, and disorder. All these things were focussed in the great soul of the man who had a

[1] 2 Cor. xi. 5, 21 ff.; v. 11–18; cf. 1 Cor. xv. 10.

parent's feeling for all his converts, and on whom fell daily the care of all the churches. The drama unfolded, then, somewhat as follows.

In the late summer of 52 or 53 Apollos went with letters of introduction from Ephesus to Corinth. A little later Paul reached Ephesus and began his work as already described. Before two years had elapsed, rumors began to reach Paul of the tolerance shown by public opinion in the Corinthian Church toward sins of impurity; and he wrote warning them not to associate with those thus erring.[1] The Church replied evasively, that to carry out his ideal was impracticable: it meant leaving this world altogether. They thus affected to understand his injunction as of universal application and not, as he of course meant, as between Christians. They seem even to have defended lust in some degree as a satisfaction of a natural appetite, like that for food, quoting even in this connection a formula which he himself may have used in relation to things morally indifferent, namely, "All things are allowable to me." Paul's reply to this in 1 Cor. v., beyond making explicit the sense of his former advice, lifts the question to a new level, that of fellowship with Christ by His indwelling Spirit and of the glory due to God in body as well as spirit. But meanwhile the existence of the spirit of faction, in relation to the diverse religious ideals already mentioned, comes to his ears[2]

[1] It is a plausible suggestion that in 2 Cor. vi. 14–vii. 1, which comes in oddly in its present context, we have in fact a fragment of this letter.

[2] Quite possibly he at once sent off Timothy, to proceed *viâ* Macedonia (on the matter of the Collection) to Corinth.

through "Chloe's folk," slaves or freedmen of a Christian lady, who had possibly just returned from business in Corinth. Then came the Corinthian reply (with Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus), putting a whole series of fresh problems, to which, as well as to those already named, he addresses himself in 1 Corinthians, written about Passover (1 Cor. v. 8), 55 (56) A. D. In so doing he associates with himself in the salutation one of the most prominent among Corinthian Christians, Sosthenes, probably the ex-*archisynagogus* of that name, who happened to be in Ephesus at the time. But it is significant of his feeling that there must be no question of their having more than one "father," as compared with "tutors" (iv. 15), that he does not so associate Apollos, who was again in Ephesus and on excellent terms with Paul (xvi. 12). It was no time for his wonted courtesies to fellow workers. The need of the hour was Church unity at Corinth; and its symbol must be their common relation in one Gospel to one spiritual father. For men were ranging themselves under party names, "Paul's men," "Apollos' men," "Cephas' men," aye, in arrogant contrast to these, "Christ's men." And this must at all costs be nipped in the bud.

In the first part of 1 Corinthians Paul deals with the factious spirit, shows its carnal-mindedness, and puts things in a right light by showing his own and Apollos' purely ministerial part in the propagation or tending of the Gospel. God alone can give life and growth. What had Paul, Apollos, or any one else that he had not received of God? It was not

therefore his to boast of, or to make a basis of division among those who stood, if they stood at all, on the one redemptive foundation, even Jesus Christ, whose servants he and Apollos were. In Christ every convert had all that was Christ's (and Christ was God's), "whether Paul or Apollos or Cephas, or world or life or death, the present and the future order of things alike,—in a word, all." Each servant could but build his best material into the building being reared on Christ; and let him look to it, what and how he so built. In addition, let them take heed lest by their dissensions they ruin God's very shrine, indwelt of God's Spirit. "For the shrine of God is holy, the which are ye."

This conclusively settled, Paul passes to other topics with the final remark that Timothy will, on arrival from Macedonia, expound his "ways that are in Christ." For the rest, let them expect his own coming, with which all had better reckon. The first of the new topics continues his former letter touching their light-hearted attitude toward irregular sexual relations. There has just come to his ears (perhaps from Chloe's clients) a fresh and specially outrageous piece of news; and starting from it he restates his position more fully, connecting all in his own inimitable way with the first principle of his Gospel. True Christian conduct is ever the corollary of the believer's union with Christ: so that his very members and their energies are not his own. Similarly from the same relation, which makes them all brethren in a deeper and more real sense than fleshly kinship can confer, he deduces their duty as to quar-

rels about earthly issues, property and the like. If such issues are raised at all—and the nobler way would be to overcome the wrong by patience that should shame a brother out of such trespasses—let them not disgrace the Name by going before unbelievers for judgment. Why not get some prudent brother to arbitrate? Then follows a terse passage putting side by side the old and the new in the experience of those to whom he writes [1] (vi. 9–11).

Next he turns to the string of practical problems, personal, social, and ecclesiastical (as Paul would have used such a term, viz, touching the fellowship of the *ecclesia* in common worship), which they had submitted to him in writing. Most of these we notice elsewhere in their bearing on the Apostolic Age in general: for they must be thought of as typical of life in Greek churches rather than as peculiar to Corinth. Quite at the close he returns to purely epistolary matters. He is organizing a collection in his Galatian and Macedonian churches for the saints at Jerusalem, and he asks them to participate. He proposes ere long to travel through Macedonia and at least to winter among them ere going further; he knows not yet whither, Jerusalem or Rome. Meantime he is to be at Ephesus till Pentecost, following up the great opening there amid much opposition. Timothy is already on his way through Macedonia on Collection business, and will in due course reach them: and he bespeaks for his

[1] Such references to heathen vices show that the bulk of the Corinthian converts came from those whose ideals had not already been moralized by association with the synagogue.

sensitive, shrinking friend a considerate reception, and any needful aid in his return journey "with the brethren." Apollos is unwilling to return with the church's delegates, Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus, thinking the present hardly a suitable moment. He urges on them dutiful recognition toward the voluntary ministry being exercised among them by "the household of Stephanas," in whose house it is likely that the church generally met. To them, and to such as share their self-denying labors, let all be loyally submissive. "The churches of Asia"—a phrase significant of the large success of the Pauline mission—send salutations, as do Aquila and Priscila, "in association with the *ecclesia* that meets in their house. The brethren one and all salute you. Salute each other with a holy kiss. The salutation of me Paul in my own hand (signing the letter, written by amanuensis, as genuine, and adding a solemn postscript). If any loves not the Lord, let him be *Anathema.* 'Our Lord is coming' (*Maran atha*). The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ (be) with you. My love (be) with all of you in Christ Jesus."

How charged with mingling emotions are these closing words! A fit climax to one of the most wonderful of letters, whether as a revelation of the writer's qualities of heart and mind, or as a factor in a great crisis in religious history.

The letter was despatched about Passover, 55 (56) A. D., and Paul must have awaited its effect with some misgivings. But he was hardly prepared for certain of its effects. On the bulk of the Church it no doubt made a deep and beneficial impression

By showing the harmony between Paul and Apollos it must have tended to fuse those who looked to either with admiration. But on the Judaizing extremists it had the opposite effect. It made them irreconcilables: and they proceeded to the tactics already described, and of which 2 Corinthians contains a scathing exposure. But was that letter Paul's next step in the whole matter? This has been doubted, and not without good reason.[1] The main consideration is the fact that 1 Corinthians does not justify the references in 2 Corinthians (i. 8) to the exceedingly sharp and painful letter which Paul had been compelled to write to Corinth, and the smart of which he is now tenderly anxious to remove by his present letter, which is written out of the unspeakable relief just caused by the news brought by Titus from Corinth. Hence we must assume a severe letter intermediate between 1 Corinthians and 2 Corinthians. On this needful asumption the course of events was as follows:

1 Corinthians was badly received at least in two quarters. It was bitterly resented by the incestuous person, whose solemn excommunication was enjoined (v. 1 ff.), and who probably retaliated by publicly flinging back some insult, possibly in church-meeting. He must have been a man of influence: and his defiance, in which his personal friends would tend to sympathize, gave the extreme Judaizers, the Christ-party, their opportunity. They began form-

[1] The extremely complicated data on which the following conclusions rest will be found, *e. g.*, in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, art. *2 Corinthians*, from which we differ only on minor details.

ally to criticise Paul and belittle his Apostolic claim, entering into an unholy and unnatural alliance with the man who had so outraged Jewish sentiment by his incest. News speedily came to the ears of Paul, perhaps brought by Timothy and crossing his message to them that he was hoping after all to come soon and straight to them—postponing his visit to Macedonia and so expecting a "second joy" by seeing them again after actually going to Macedonia. The result was the abandonment of this speedy visit, as it would involve his coming not in joy but in deep sorrow. Instead of going personally, he wrote with much searching of heart and many tears a letter directed against the interlopers in particular, to whose presence he rightly traced the full gravity of the crisis. There must also have been a firm reiteration of the demand for discipline on the brazen-faced offender. What, then, it may be asked, has become of this letter? "It was let pass into oblivion, as both painful and temporary in its purport," say some. Others fancy they can detect it in Chapters x–xiii. of our Second Epistle. There is much in the anxious tone and vehement invective, often couched in terrible irony, which mark these chapters off from the relieved and thankful tone of the rest of the Epistle, to give color to such a view. Yet it has its own difficulties. One would need to assume that the two letters had been freely edited into a sort of unity. But if so, why has it not been done rather more plausibly, by introducing the section of more painful and polemic tone before the bulk of the letter which is gracious in manner? The editing—

which must admittedly have been very free, omitting the part bearing on the (incestuous [1]) individual who had defied the Apostle—would at best have been bungling. Further, however we take phrases like "This is the third time that I am on the point of coming to you" (xiii. 1, cf. xii. 14), they would be harder to explain in an Epistle written earlier than 2 Cor. i.–ix., which follows at once on Titus' return from his first visit. [2] Accordingly it is, on the whole, easier to suppose that with Chapter x. began a new train of thought, returning, after the conciliatory tone to the majority of the Church (cf. ii. 6), to the interlopers and their sympathizers among the minority (*e. g.*, a prominent Corinthian alluded to in x. 7–11). In order to guard against any recrudescence of the evil, especially on his approaching visit, Paul completes the vindication of his own Apostolic status and exposes their false and unworthy spirit. The Corinthians had already been won back "in part" (i. 14), and that for the most part: but the root of bitterness had yet to be extruded finally from their fellowship, in the persons of the interloping Judaic "false Apostles." And Titus' return, though as before partly on Collection business, was

[1] The fact that the person named in 2 Cor. ii. 5; vii. 12, had "wronged" Paul by name or in the person of his representative (say Timothy, if he actually reached Corinth, 1 Cor. xvi. 10), creates no presumption against his being the person of 1 Cor. v. 1 ff. We have only to suppose that he had been stung into resentment and defiance.

[2] So too, xii. 18 seems to refer to the same occasion as is referred to in vii. 14; viii. 6. That Titus did not carry 1 Corinthians is shown by the reference to Timothy in iv. 17. For in that case Titus would already have reminded them of Paul's ways.

meant to serve the same end of consolidating the allegiance now restored in the main.

The last painful letter, then, was probably written in April 55 (56), was carried by Titus, and had its desired effect. The bulk of the church now came quite to its senses; the contumacious person had been excommunicated by a decisive majority at a church meeting, and was now himself contrite and in need of being sympathetically treated with a view to his restoration; and before Titus left he was able to set the Collection fully going, and in this, as in other respects, to bring back a cheering report to Paul, whom he met in Macedonia, probably at Philippi. Thence Paul at once penned 2 Corinthians, associating with himself in the address Timothy, who had been unable to rest in Ephesus for anxiety, when news was long in coming (1 Tim. i. 3; cf. 2 Cor. ii. 12, for Paul's own impatience in Troas). Titus returned with it to Corinth, having proved himself so capable an agent, to prepare the way for Paul's visit before winter, 55 (56) A. D.

But we have already carried this thread of the narrative beyond the point at which we dropped those relating to Ephesus and Paul's general movements on his last missionary journey. And to these we must now return.

(*c*) *The Final Tour* (Acts xix. 23–xxi. 14).

To the tension of Corinthian affairs was now added the anxiety of a sudden and nearly fatal tumult, this time originating purely in the reaction of paganism, touched in a very tender spot, that of the

trade interests of the purveyors to its devotional feeling. How fiercely the flame burned for a moment, so that Paul felt it as it were against his very cheek, we gather from his personal comments at the beginning of 2 Corinthians. He had been bowed down beyond endurance, so as to despair of life: he seemed to hear the death sentence echoing through his heart. And yet it had all been to teach him more deeply the lesson of self-abandonment and sheer reliance on God, the God of resurrection power. For indeed, out of the death-pangs of this overwhelming crisis God had rescued His own, and so deepened Paul's confidence for the future. It was with the memory of these hours yet fresh upon him, that he reviewed his experience of the Apostolic lot in the striking words (iv. 7–11): "But we have this treasure (the Gospel) in earthen vessels, that the excess of power may be of God and not from ourselves. We are pressed on every side, yet not straitened; at our wits' end, yet not unto despair; persecuted, yet not abandoned; cast down, yet not ruined; ever bearing about the doing to death of Jesus, that the life also of Jesus may be manifested in our body. For we, the living, are always being delivered over to death for Jesus' sake."

What, then, was the exact nature of the tribulations that so colored Paul's feelings? The answer of course is found in the great riot, the "no small stir about the Way," described so vividly, yet with so little hint of Paul's own deep emotions at the time, in Acts xix. 23 ff. "Round the great Ephesian temple, to which worshippers came from far, many

tradesmen get their living from the pilgrims, supplying them with victims and dedicatory offerings of various kinds, as well as food and shelter."[1] But the demand for such things inevitably slackened as the new preaching spread; just as contrariwise Pliny, writing to the Emperor Trajan more than half a century later, reports from Bithynia that as a result of his vigorous campaign against the Christians, "the temples, so lately desolate, have begun to fill, and the rites of religion long disused to be again sought after and fodder to arrive for the use of victims, whereas until now a buyer turned up only at rare intervals." In Ephesus the speciality was a little shrine, generally of silver, representing the goddess "Artemis" (to use the Greek name of the Asiatic nature-deity, the Great Mother) sitting in state in a niche or under a sort of stone canopy. These were either dedicated in the Temple or placed in the house of the votary. The leading man in the associated trades contributory to this industry was Demetrius a master silversmith. He, when things became to look really bad towards the end of Paul's stay in Ephesus, assembled the workmen of his and the allied trades, and made the well-known appeal to their susceptibilities reported in Acts xix. 25–27.

The craftsmen were thoroughly roused; interest, patriotism, religion, all found vent in the indignant cry "Great is Artemis of the Ephesians." The whole city was thrown into confusion; a general rush to the theatre ensued, the most part vaguely

[1] Ramsay's *St. Paul* (p. 277), to which this account owes much.

conscious only from the first shouts that their religion was in question. On the way, two of Paul's traveling companions, the Macedonians Gaius and Aristarchus, were recognized and hurried along with the rioters. When Paul heard of this, he was for going in to intervene, but was hindered not only by the disciples but also by the entreaty of certain well-disposed Asiarchs. These men, though High Priests of the imperial cult in their capacity as presidents of the provincial "Union," probably closely connected also with the worship of Artemis, yet viewed Paul very much as one of the many philosophic lecturers or sophists, who were wont to air their freer notions about the gods (just as Tyrannus, for instance, might have done). And such were not molested, any more than Paul would have been, had he but made mere academic "displays" in a superior tone, about "the Divine" or about popular superstitions.[1] Accordingly they rather respected him as an eccentric preacher, earnest beyond the ordinary and uncommonly effective in causing unlikely people to live better lives: and they saw through the present excitement to its true source in sordid self-interest. Their policy was to let the mob—ever the real

[1] A suggestive parallel and contrast may be drawn between the polemic against Ephesian idolatry, of Paul on the one hand, and on the other of the Stoic philosopher who wrote the "Letters of Heraclitus," perhaps a generation earlier. On the negative side they are parallel; as when the latter cries, "Where is God? Is He shut up in the temples? You forsooth are pious who set up the God in a dark place. A man takes it for an insult if he is said to be 'made of stone,' *etc.*" It is in the positive power of dissuasion that they differ; for only the former could offer instead a God appealing to men's real needs.

enemy, rather than the imperial authorities, in the early days of the Gospel—shout its resentment out by itself.

Meantime in the theatre the "assembly," as it was meant in an informal way to be, was all confusion, the majority not even knowing the why and wherefore of their presence. Under such conditions it was natural that many, getting hold of the wrong end of the story and catching at the words "Paul, a Jew," should begin to raise anti-Jewish cries—a popular line then, as since. To anticipate trouble in this quarter, a certain Alexander was put up by the Jews, possibly as being a worker in bronze and so related to the ringleaders by craft (2 Tim. iv. 14), to address the mob and explain. But when he was recognized as a Jew, his gesture for silence was ignored and his voice drowned in the cry, which now became universal and continuous for some two hours, "Great is Artemis of the Ephesians, Great is Artemis of the Ephesians." At last the Town-Clerk, a leading official of the municipal council, and so in close touch with the Proconsul who generally resided at Ephesus, appeared on the scene and by a skilful speech cooled down their enthusiasm. He appealed first to their sense of dignity, then made the business-like suggestion that the law-courts were the proper place in which to consider the case of "Demetrius and others *versus* Paul"—with a regular meeting of the assembly as a further court of appeal—and ended up with the argument to fear. "Pretty fools," said he in effect, "we shall look, if, when called to account for this day's

tumult, we have absolutely no definite excuse to allege." His words told on a crowd that had now had time to recover its head and to feel just a little ashamed of its blind haste: and so the assembly promptly adjourned.

This speech, exonerating Paul's companions from all charges of contumely toward the religious feelings of the Ephesians—and yet so full of local color—was just to the mind of the author of Acts. He inserts it as a virtual *apologia* of the Christians of his own day likewise, toward whom the State was beginning to assume an attitude far more hostile than in the "earlier and better days."

The riot over, Paul called the disciples about him, and after words of counsel and cheer took affectionate leave of them and started for Macedonia, leaving Timothy as his substitute to cope with the dangers of the church's internal conditions (1 Tim. i. 3). The time must have been about Pentecost, 55 (56) A. D., (1 Cor. xvi. 8). Here again his Corinthian correspondence helps to fill out the bare summary in Acts. From it we gather that Paul did not wish to hasten through to Corinth, but intended to do some evangelizing in Troas, the chief port on his way to Macedonia, until reassured by Titus touching the attitude of the Corinthian church. Titus had been sent shortly before as the bearer of a letter of great severity, calculated to bring things there to a crisis which might either sting the converts into a strong revulsion of feeling in Paul's favor or drive them yet further into the arms of Judaizing interlopers, bent on undermining his authority.

As Paul went over the alternatives in his mind in the sudden lull of the journey to Troas, he realized how deeply his soul was involved in the issue. So that, though "a door opened to him in the Lord" (2 Cor. ii. 12), he was too restless in spirit to stay and really enter in. He hurried forward in the hope of the sooner meeting Titus somewhere in Macedonia. Here he seems only to have found afresh the troubles he had escaped from at Ephesus, "fightings without," as well as apprehension within (2 Cor. vii. 5); until suddenly the whole horizon brightened with the coming of Titus, as the bearer of joyous tidings of the crisis safely passed and the earnest penitence of the bulk of the Corinthian church. Here was comfort indeed, and that from God's hand. The sun had come out from behind exceeding black clouds on every side, and Paul basked in its gladdening rays with an exultant sense of relief. But he must needs share it straightway with the objects of his late solicitude, toward whom, in the sadness caused by the wholesome discipline of the letter that had brought them to their senses, he now felt a yearning sympathy and a desire to attach them to himself closer than ever by fresh proofs of his disinterested affection for them. With special joy and pride does he assure them of the impression made on Titus by their dutiful reception of him as the Apostle's representative: so much so, that now he has volunteered to go forth to them once more, as bearer of the fresh letter and also to further the collection among them for the Jerusalem fund. This was already far advanced in the Macedonian churches, in spite of both

sore afflictions and deep poverty. Paul is anxious, then, lest Corinth should be put to shame in the eyes of the Macedonian envoys, who were ere long to accompany him to Corinth on the way to Jerusalem as bearers of the funds collected in Macedonia (vii. 5–ix. 6). And so he sends two other brethren with Titus to assist in organizing the Corinthian collection, suggested even before 1 Cor. xvi. 2, but now languishing in consequence of the strained relations between them and him, the more so that far-sighted greed had been among the innuendoes circulated against him by his foes. He has spoken confidently to the Macedonians of their readiness (ix. 2). And he is sure that their grateful hearts will expand into liberality for this good and brotherly cause, as they remember "the unspeakable gift" of God in their own salvation.

It is not possible to say with certainty from what part of Macedonia 2 Corinthians was written. But there are at least some indications that it was from Thessalonica rather than Philippi (viii. 1, 2; ix. 2), and also that he made a rather complete and careful tour among the Macedonian churches, some of which might have sprung up in new cities since his former visit (cf. Rom. xv. 19). Nor can we confidently identify the brethren through whom he hoped to bring the public opinion of other churches to bear upon the Corinthians (viii. 24), in sending them along with Titus. They are both envoys or Apostles of churches; the one being "the brother whose praise in the Gospel extends through all the churches" and who is a delegate sent by several to

convey their Gentile charity; the other a brother of oft-tried zeal. They cannot have been Macedonians, a fact which excludes most of those named in Acts xx. 4, if not Luke also. Hence they probably belonged to Asia Minor, and being already members of Paul's party bound for Jerusalem *via* Corinth would be available to go on before with Titus. If so, we may see in them Tychicus, who had been active in Asia (Eph. vi. 21; Col. iv. 7), and Trophimus the Ephesian (xxi. 29), both of whom seem to have been with Paul at Corinth some few months later.

Of course it was during this stay that he wrote the Epistle to the Romans, so marvelous not only for its profound and comprehensive thought but also for the splendid sweep of its missionary programme, In it a visit to the far west—to Spain by way of Rome —was already embraced. His feeling was that "he had no longer place in these regions" from which he is writing: so thoroughly did he feel himself the pioneer of Christ's Empire in the world-empire! Indeed the thought of visiting Rome had been in his heart "for a considerable number of years"; and on many distinct occasions he would actually have started, but was hindered, probably by the needs of his existing churches and the exigency of keeping them in touch with those in Palestine (xv. 22–29).

(*d*) *The Last Journey to Jerusalem* (Acts xx. 3–xxi. 17).

Paul's route on leaving Corinth, early in 56 (57) A. D., was determined by a Jewish plot to kill him

on the voyage, which led to his going round by Macedonia. By this time his now considerable party of almoners had for the most part assembled at Corinth, though some may have been at Ephesus awaiting his arrival by ship, on the way to Jerusalem. When then he determined to evade Jewish hatred by going *incognito* through Macedonia to Ephesus, his main party carried out the original plan of crossing the Ægean, modifying it only by proceeding from Ephesus to meet Paul and his smaller party at Troas. At Philippi Paul kept the Passover season, and then sailed with the author of the "we" passages for Troas, where they arrived on the fifth day. Here all were detained a week, waiting for a ship or the weather; during which delay the Sunday evening Breaking of Bread and accompanying religious service was prolonged to midnight, as Paul discoursed on the eve of a departure which meant so much for all present. The incident of Eutychus' fall and restoration to life is familiar in the author's own vivid words: only it is to be noted that, unlike the case of Paul himself in xiv. 19, his death is asserted as a matter of fact and not of momentary supposition. Paul resumed their religious fellowship with the Lord's Supper itself. To its joyous, thankful note their hearts must have felt fully attuned. And so he led them in the expression of the thanksgiving in every breast for signal divine help, as they realized in a new way their dependence on God, not only for the Bread of Life in Christ, but also for every temporal blessing. The sacred meal over, earnest but informal converse on things divine continued until

daybreak brought the signal for Paul to depart, leaving behind a deep impression of his personality and his wonderful words of cheer. The party as a whole joined the ship forthwith, that Monday morning early in Spring 56 (57) A. D.,[1] its leader preferring to cross on foot the neck of land which lay between Troas and Assos. One can only surmise that he wished to be alone, to gaze into the face of the future and be braced to meet its worst in the might of his Lord. May we not discern the fruit of such still communing in the calm tone of his words to the Ephesian elders and to others touching his own destiny? It was indeed a crisis in human history, this journey, to which Paul looked more than to any other one thing to blend the Judæo-Christian and Gentile Churches into an actual unity of conscious fellowship, such as should make them in deed what they were to his eye, *one Ecclesia*, one Body of the Christ animated by the one Spirit. Should his brightest hope be realized and he perform this "ministry" in peace, how calmly and joyfully could he turn his face to Rome and the farther West! But in any case God would "make all things work together for good," as in faith he executed an act prompted by God's own love.

[1] Combining this notice of the day of the week with the fact that it was some ten days since Paul left Philippi, presumably on the morrow after the Days of Unleavened Bread, we get Friday as the day of sailing from Philippi, and Thursday evening as the beginning and end of Passover Week. It has been calculated that this was *not* the case in A. D. 55, 58, 59; and as 54 seems on other grounds too early, the years available are 56 and 57. Of these Turner prefers 56, and Ramsay 57.

In the neighborhood of Assos he rejoined the ship, and the same evening they reached Mitylene. The ship evidently started each day at sunrise and anchored at sunset, in accordance with the ways of the wind at that season on those coasts. And Luke lets us see through his eyes the various stages of this momentous voyage. On Tuesday evening they were opposite the large island of Chios; on Wednesday they anchored south of Samos; and early in the next day reached the harbor of Miletus. Here the ship was making some stay. Paul had already settled not to visit Ephesus, for fear of being detained in Asia so long as to jeopardize his arrival at Jerusalem for Pentecost—thus losing the full effect of a visit meant to express his loyalty as a Jew. But he seized the chance of an interview with the leaders of his chief Asiatic church, and by messenger advised the Ephesian Elders of his proximity.

On their arrival, probably on the Friday, he delivered to them a peculiarly solemn and affecting farewell charge. Beginning with a reference to the spirit of his own ministry among them, and dwelling pointedly on its anxieties and hardships, he spoke of the compelling power that was taking him to Jerusalem like a bond-servant ignorant of his Lord's counsels, conscious only that the Holy Spirit's testimony to him in city after city was that bonds and afflictions were in store for him. Yet he will not repine; his life is dear to him only so far as it fulfils the appointed course and ministry of the Gospel of God's grace, received long since of the Lord Jesus. He is assured that this is the last time that they will look

upon his face;[1] and so with all the solemnity of a final parting he disclaims further responsibility for them, since he had not held back any part of God's counsel. It is for them now, to look to themselves and to all the flock, wherein the Holy Spirit had placed them as guardians (*episkopoi*), to shepherd the Church of God which He had acquired by the blood of His own Son.[2] For grievous wolves (probably Judaizers, as at Corinth) were about to enter in, unsparing of the flock; while from the local fellowship itself should arise men of perverse teaching and try to draw the disciples away after themselves. Watchfulness, then, is their prime duty, in the spirit of his own example of tender solicitude in the past. And to this end, he commits them to their Lord and to His Gospel, wherein lay resources adequate to their up-building and to securing for them finally "the inheritance in the assembly of the sanctified." Then he turns once more to his own practice, as an ensample of the disinterested and self-sacrificing love that is the true pastoral spirit, quoting words that were evidently part of the deposit of their Lord's sayings which he had taught them—"Blessed is it rather to give than to receive."

[1] Whether *the attribution of* this solemn conviction to the great Apostle by his devoted admirer, in a work written *after* the actual sequel was matter of common knowledge, is compatible with a subsequent visit to Ephesus—which 1 Tim. i. 3 is often assumed to involve—must be considered later on. What we have to account for is ver. 38, even more than ver. 25.

[2] This must be the sense of *διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου*. Hort renders it "by the blood that was His own," and cites, for the thought that the Father pays the price in yielding up His own Son, Rom. v. 8 (*ἑαυτοῦ*), viii. 32.

This last message of his lips to them, was also the message of his life. He knelt and prayed with them all. And they all wept sore and fell on Paul's neck and kissed him, sorrowing most of all at his foreboding that it was for the last time. All that was left to them was to conduct him to the ship, where the final wrench came; and the land soon faded from the view as the vessel sped on the straight line to Cos. The next day brought Paul to the famous city of Rhodes, lying to the northeast corner of its fine island; and the next to Patara, on the southwest coast of Lycia. Here they found a ship sailing on the direct long course to Phœnicia by the west of Cyprus, instead of taking the slower coasting route. And so, after touching perhaps at Myra on the southeast of Lycia (whence the long run was usually made), they put to sea, sighted Cyprus on the left, and in due time reached Tyre where their ship was wont to discharge her cargo. During this operation they sought out the local disciples and were received with the free-masonry so distinctive of the early Christians. Once more did prophetic voices, dissuading from the projected visit, sound upon the Apostle's ears: and once more his faith stood the test. And then, after a week's stay, the party was accompanied down to the beach by the whole Christian community—men, women, and children—and with prayer and kindly farewells dismissed on their way. At Ptolemais they were able to spend only one day with the brethren: and on the morrow they disembarked for good at Cæsarea, finding hospitality with Philip the Evangelist, "who was one of the Seven." This

good man had four unmarried daughters who exercised the prophetic gift—a fact which Luke, ever alive to tokens of the Spirit's presence, is careful to note.

The speed of the voyage had left them some days to spare; and these they spent at Cæsarea in resting, wishing perhaps to arrive only just in time for Pentecost itself. Possibly Paul hoped by immediate public observance of the Feast to falsify malicious rumors about himself and remove prejudice; possibly also to offer the Gentile thank-offering as a genuine Pentecostal earnest of "the fulness of the Gentiles." Yet he had one more ordeal to undergo; when the Judæan prophet Agabus came down, and with symbolism recalling certain acts of the older Prophets intimated that Paul should be bound of the Jews in Jerusalem and handed over to the Gentile authorities. It was indeed the climax of such appeals to his instinct of self-preservation, for it was reinforced by the local Christians and by his own companions. But Paul was immovable, and said, "What do ye, weeping and unmanning my heart? Since I am ready not only to be bound, but also to meet death at Jerusalem, on behalf of the name of the Lord Jesus." Seeing, then, that he was not to be persuaded, "we held our peace," writes Luke, "saying, The Lord's will be done."

Thereafter, having equipped themselves (probably with horses) they proceeded on the way to Jerusalem, accompanied by some of the disciples who were to introduce them to Mnason, a Cypriot like Barnabas, and a disciple of long-standing, with

whom they might lodge. This precaution points to the prevalence of the distrust felt toward Paul even by the Jerusalem Christians as a body. And so the long journey reaches its close, and the sequel in Jerusalem opens with a cheering reception at the hands of the inner circle of leading brethren.

CHAPTER VI.

IMPRISONMENT AND MARTYRDOM.

(*a*) *Imprisonment in Jerusalem and Cæsarea* (Acts xxi. 18–xxvi.).

PAUL'S informal welcome had been encouraging. But when, on the morrow, he and his party went in to have more formal audience with the local leaders, with James and the whole body of the Elders (no Apostles appear to have been in Jerusalem at the time), the cloud began at once to appear on the horizon. After interchange of salutations, Paul related in full God's dealings with the Gentiles through his ministry; and the narrative called forth their expressions of praise to God. But they went on to suggest the advisability of anticipating the evil rumors current in the city, not only among unbelieving but also among believing Jews, who were as zealous as their neighbors for the Law. The tale that had been diligently circulated, for instance by Asiatic Jews when up at the Feasts, was that Paul was wont to urge apostasy from Moses on all the Jews in the Diaspora, bidding them refrain from circumcising their children and from observing the usual customs. Paul was advised, then, to take some step that would bring him prominently before the public eye as conforming to Jewish usage. The test

case suggested was one about which he could have no difficulty, seeing that he must on his last visit have conformed to its conditions as a sequel to his own vow made at Corinth. On this occasion he was simply to participate in the final stage of other men's vows, by purifying himself along with them and incurring the expense of the sacrifices marking the expiration of such vows (Num. vi.). So should all men perceive that there was nothing in what was so industriously alleged of him, but that on the contrary he himself yielded observance to the Law—in an act of piety, one may add, which involved the popular virtue of alms done to brethren too poor to provide their own sacrifices.[1]

Paul, feeling that there was just enough half-truth in the rumors to render them highly plausible, complied; took the men in hand, purified himself, and entered the Temple to give public notice on their behalf that the days of purification were fully up and that the sacrifice for each was about to be offered. It is possible that he had sacrifices of his own to offer, the sequel of some vow such as that of Acts xviii. 18, or in connection with the Gentile Collection now happily achieved. For he speaks later (xxiv. 17) of his presence in Jerusalem as for the purpose of "doing alms to my nation and making offerings": and that it was while engaged with the latter that he had been found "purified in the temple." But in any case the intended object-

[1] It is one of the means by which Herod Agrippa (Jos. *Ant.* xix. 6, 1) sought to show himself a good Jew, "giving order for full many Nazirites to secure the shaving of their heads."

lesson failed of its end. Though he was in the company of men probably known as Jewish Christians, yet the moral drawn by the suspicion or malice of the Asiatic Jews, who espied him during "the seven days" of preliminary attendance in the Temple, before the rites which ended the vows actually took place, was a highly damaging one. They insinuated that he had introduced Greeks into the inner court of the Temple, which it was sacrilege for a Gentile to enter; and this simply because they held him an apostate at heart, and because they had seen Trophimus the Ephesian with him in the city. The mob soon gathered. But as they were roughly handling Paul outside the sacred precincts, Claudius Lysias, the commandant of the Roman garrison stationed in Antonia, the fortified post overlooking the Temple area, suddenly intervened with his men: and being unable to get any clear account of the wherefore of the tumult, he bore Paul off to the fortress. As they were ascending the steps leading thither, with the mob surging around the soldiers and their charge, Paul surprised the *chiliarch* or tribune by addressing him in Greek. This officer had jumped to the conclusion that he was a certain Egyptian Jew, a false Messiah, who sometime before had headed a futile revolt against the Romans, but had succeeded in escaping after luring numbers on to death. On learning, then, that Paul was a citizen of Tarsus, he granted him the wished-for opportunity of explaining the true situation to the people, standing where he was on the steps just outside the Roman fortress. His speech was in "Hebrew," a fact

which secured him a better hearing, and its text was virtually: "I was once in feeling just as you are to-day: listen how I came to my present position." It covers much the same ground as the narrative of his conversion in Acts ix., but is even more vivid and accurate in form. But their prejudices caused his apology to reach an abrupt ending, at the point where he was leading up to the explanation of his intercourse with Gentiles such as had brought him into suspicion. The air was rent with shouts of "Away with such a fellow: for it is not fit that he should live." And their excitement became so great, that there was nothing for it but to retire into the safety of the citadel. Here Lysias gave orders for Paul to be scourged, in order to extort the full truth from his own lips. And thus the historian had opportunity once more to show how the Christian missionary's condition as a born Roman citizen stood him in good stead and led to more considerate treatment at the hands of the officer, who set all the higher value on the privilege that it had come to himself only at great cost.

On the morrow he brought Paul before a more select, and presumably more judicially minded Jewish body, namely the Sanhedrin; to discover, if possible, the exact nature of the supposed offence. In this he was again balked: for Paul, discerning that the only way to evade a formal hostile decision on the part of the supreme Jewish tribunal (which could hardly be other than prejudicial to him in Roman eyes) was to take advantage of the theological differences between his foes, threw an apple of dis-

cord into the midst. He proclaimed himself a man of Pharisaic birth, and one whose hope in the resurrection of the dead (which with him rested on Christ's resurrection) was really at issue. A great outcry at once ensued; and in the course of the wrangle certain scribes of the Pharisaic party declared that, "Supposing a spirit or an angel had spoken to this man," it was not for them to judge him in such a matter—referring, apparently, to Paul's account of his call from the Risen Jesus. So hot waxed the contention that Lysias, fearing for Paul's safety, caused the soldiery to rescue him from their midst and lodge him again in the fortress. That night the Lord surprised him in a vision, cheering him with the assurance that, as in Jerusalem, so in Rome must he witness to Himself.

But the popular feeling against Paul had by no means subsided. A conspiracy against his life was formed between more than forty men, who bound themselves by imprecations to do away with him before again touching food. In this they secured the coöperation of the leaders of the Sanhedrin, which was to present a formal request to Lysias to have Paul among them again for more careful hearing. Happily the plot came to the ears of a young nephew of Paul on his sister's side, who got access to him and then to Lysias. The upshot was that Paul was despatched by night under a strong guard to Felix, the procurator, at Cæsarea. And thither he came the next day, after a halt at Antipatris. In the letter which Lysias sent to explain the case, there is an interesting designed misstate-

ment, to the effect that he had sent to rescue Paul on learning that he was a Roman. This only proves that the actual wording of the letter is reflected in its present setting, the officer being concerned to emphasize his zeal for the honor of the Roman name. Felix contented himself for the moment with inquiring to what province he belonged, to see whether he came strictly under his jurisdiction. On learning that he was a Cilician, so falling within the area of his superior, the legate of Syria,[1] he adjourned the hearing until the arrival of the accusers, lodging him meantime in mild custody in his official residence, once Herod's Palace.

On the fifth day the prosecution arrived, in the persons of Hananias the High Priest and certain Elders, along with an advocate named Tertullus; and lodged a formal charge against Paul. When the case came up for hearing, Tertullus, after the usual bid for the judge's favor by words of flattery, at once broached a most damaging form of charge to Roman ears, namely that of being an habitual nuisance and menace to public order among the Jews everywhere. The accused was in fact a ringleader of the sect of the Nazoræans, who had been in the act of profaning the Temple when he was laid hold of. But of all this Felix could become assured by questioning the man himself. When Paul in turn received the signal to speak, he began with a skilful

[1] It is surely the mark of a contemporary account that this is so represented, seeing that Vespasian united both portions of Cilicia (Rough and Smooth) in a single province with an imperial governor of its own, in 73–74 A. D.

reference to his judge's experience, acquired by many years' office among the Jews. It was, then, a fact easy to verify, that it was barely a dozen days since he had gone up to Jerusalem to worship; and that, so far from making a tumult, he had not even engaged in public discussion in the Temple or anywhere else. The prosecution had simply no evidence to support their allegations. His real offence, if such it was, consisted in the fact that his worship of the God of his fathers was "after the Way which they call a sect," believing, as he did, all written in Law and Prophets, and cherishing a hope toward God—even as did his accusers—that there was yet to be a resurrection both of just and unjust. In this faith he was ever careful to keep a pure conscience as regards God and man. So after the lapse of several years he had come up to do alms to his people and to offer sacrifices: and it was when duly engaged in this that he had been arrested at the instigation of certain Jews from Asia, who ought that day to have been present, to sustain their charge. As it was, let the High Priest and his friends specify what crime they had detected in him the day he stood in their midst in the Sanhedrin. Felix, being perfectly well acquainted with "the Way" of the Christians, saw that no clear verdict was possible on such evidence, and adjourned the hearing until Lysias should come down and give his testimony in full. Accordingly Paul was handed over to the care of a centurion, to be kept in military custody, which gave him considerable liberty and his friends free access to minister to his comfort.

Evidently Felix had been impressed by Paul's manner, and perhaps by his story also: for on his return to Cæsarea later on in company with Drusilla, sister of Agrippa II., who had deserted Azizus, prince of Emesa, to become the procurator's wife, he sent for his prisoner to hear more about the new faith. Paul's faithful emphasis on its moral aspects is represented as having reached Felix's conscience and made him anxious not to prolong the interview. Since, however, he had a motive more in keeping with his actual character, as we know it from other sources, namely the hope of receiving a large bribe from a man who had evidently a number of attached friends, he continued to send and converse with him. But as Paul never took advantage of these confidential interviews for the end Felix had in mind, there was nothing to outweigh his desire, fostered perhaps by his Jewish wife, but at least equally by the need of wiping out old bad scores, to do a cheap favor to the Jews. And so Paul lingered on for full two years of comparative confinement and inactivity. Yet after all both were only partial. Paul could never be uninfluential. There must have been a constant coming and going, which had its focus in the *prætorium* at Cæsarea and for its circumference only the limits of the Pauline missions. And one can hardly be wrong in imagining the Philippians and others sending financial aid to their Apostle's needs here, as later at Rome (Phil. iv. 10 ff.). For the delegates who had come up with him to Jerusalem would carry home the news of what had occurred. It is true that we may not, with some scholars, assign

either the Ephesian or the Colossian Epistle to this period. Yet one can hardly doubt that similar letters, chiefly of a more temporary bearing, were despatched by him on whom was still "the care of the churches."

But why, it may be asked, does Acts pass over so much that would have been to us of the deepest interest? In view of its fulness at this stage both before and after, only one answer can hold good, and this takes us to the very heart of the problems connected with the book itself. It was written on a plan—a plan which determines both the expansion and the condensation so noticeable. To us the narrative of events connected with Paul's arrest, his successive hearings, and his voyage to Rome to stand his final trial, seems needlessly prolix. Interesting as the details are in themselves, we grudge their space in the whole book, of which they occupy nearly a fourth. We must indeed allow something for the fact that for the voyage itself the material available was specially abundant—whether derived from a diary or from the memory of the eyewitness, to whom his sea-experiences stood out with special vividness, as may be seen also in the voyage up to Jerusalem. But then the author of Acts is not an unreflective person, apt to let his materials run away with him. All agree that he presents us with no mere series of documents and stories loosely strung together, as in Herodotus, but with an artistic unity: so that in the last resort we must reckon, not so much with the materials as with a resultant determined by unity of conception. From what standpoint, then, does our author's use of all this space

become natural, especially in view of the repetitions involved in Paul's appearance before successive tribunals on the same issue? Only from that already hinted at more than once, namely emphasis on the contrasted attitudes of Jewish and Roman authorities to the representatives of the new religion. This contrast has now reached its final climax, and our author wishes all readers duly to appreciate the fact (cf. xxviii. 18).

If we ask, further, why he was so anxious that this lesson should be impressed on men's minds, we shall, if at all alive to the practical interest of all primitive Christian literature, conclude that it had an important bearing on the actual conditions of the Church in his own day. Its moral was the message for the times, and this both for Empire and for Church. To put it plainly, the Empire was vexing the Church, and the Church was deeply resenting the injustice of such war upon the saints—a resentment which runs through the Apocalypse like a growl of thunder before the avenging storm. And to both sides Luke's answer and appeal is the same. "Know your true relations as writ large on the face of earlier and better times, when the founders of the Church were persecuted indeed by the Jews, but exonerated from all fault and shielded by the impartial tribunals of the Empire. Why should it not be so now? Such are the normal relations between the two great orders ordained of God—the civil and the spiritual—apart from the perverse imperial policy of the hour, which must change once more if only the truth can get its voice heard. And to this end, the early and

long-maintained relations of the two powers should be thoroughly known to all." Hence the special fitness of the dedication to a believer of high rank ("your Excellency, Theophilus"), through whom this historic defence could best reach official circles and the public at large.

So far then we have an adequate reason for this series of hearings, which all end in various Roman officials pronouncing the typical Christian innocent; so that it looked like a mere accident that he was not set free after the last and fullest of the series. For the final word of those actually related is Agrippa's remark to Festus: "This man could have been set at liberty at once, had he not appealed to Cæsar." There is an ominous ring in these words, occurring in so purposeful and allusive a work as Acts, which, taken along with certain hints dropped in the narrative of the journey to Jerusalem, can hardly point to any but one conclusion. And this is, that Paul made a mistake in judgment in appealing to the then Cæsar, the youthful Nero. In this light, the abrupt ending of the book is natural and indeed masterly, being in fact a suggestive *aposiopesis*, a stopping short where thought by the very silence is urged on to fill in the sequel for itself—in this case a tragic contrast, which all concerned would know. And their knowledge of its author, as one whose acts no wise man could cite as precedents, would lead them to regard such silence as a suppression not of essential truth but of a hideous exception. For Nero's action and the State's policy were by no means synonymous to the Empire in general,

much less to a Christian writer who must needs regard his condemnation of Paul as a personal freak, parallel to that in which he made sport of the Christians in his Vatican gardens. The cases may not really have been at all parallel, as quite probably Paul was put to death in pursuance of the habitual Roman severity toward anything that seemed to menace public order, especially among an inflammable people like the Jews. But the point is, that a Christian who did not see or admit the rationale of the later Roman policy toward his fellows, would judge otherwise, just as we represent our author as doing.

Professor Ramsay indeed draws another conclusion, namely that Luke projected a sequel (making the third of the Trilogy to which he supposes Acts i. 1 to point), showing how Paul's appeal actually succeeded. But this theory seems to stultify our author's studied reference to Paul's confident forebodings about the issue of the visit to Jerusalem, and particularly that at Miletus (xx. 25, 38); it is an assumption to which the comprehensive programme of Acts i. 8 gives no countenance (cf. xix. 21); and it has against it the law of proportion, in that Ramsay himself allows only some seven or eight years at most to this third work (as compared with more than thirty to Acts) ere Paul finally succumbs to the stroke of Nero's executioner. Then after all, the old difficulty, if difficulty it be, crops up at the later date; since Ramsay regards this martyrdom as really due not to any freak of Nero's, but to a legal process then fully recognized. So that the Christian

apology would still limp, at the end of the extra book, as regards its strict cogency to a Roman mind. It is better not to multiply hypotheses, but to take Acts as the final ending of its author's intended account of the Christian Origins.[1]

(*b*) *To Rome: the Martyrdom* (Acts xxv.–xxviii.).

Over the final stage of Paul's imprisonment at Cæsarea, after the supersession of Felix by Porcius Festus,[2] there is no need to linger. For it adds nothing of moment to our understanding of the Apostolic Age, while the record speaks for itself as it stands in our bibles. Nor is it otherwise with the long and minute account of the voyage to Rome. Its main lessons alone concern us, such as the vivid sense of Paul's greatness amid the trying details of an unpropitious sea-journey, ending in a storm and shipwreck, and the reflection of the impression produced upon the Roman centurion who was one of the party. All this serves to make Paul enter Rome in a sort of strange triumph, so fulfilling the forecast of Acts i. 8. Not only does the original here even excel itself in vividness, but the story has recently been retold

[1] The case really stands here as it does in Luke's Gospel, where emphasis is laid on the repeated declarations of Jesus' innocence *prior to* the account of His actual death *through a failure of justice* (xxiii. 2, 4, 14, 22–25).

[2] This procurator's arrival has been by many taken as a fixed point in Pauline chronology; but probably without sufficient ground, seeing that there is contradiction between Tacitus and Josephus on the point (due perhaps to guessing on the latter's part). A discussion of the *pros* and *cons* may be found in the *Expositor*, Fifth Series, Vol. vii. and Hastings' *Bible Dictionary* (1898), art. "Chronology."

with great spirit and accuracy in an admirable chapter of Ramsay's book on St. Paul as traveler and Roman citizen.

For our present purpose, then, only a few special points call for notice. Very happily does Ramsay's paraphrase catch the tone of Festus, as a typical Roman, toward Paul's Gospel, with its climax in the resurrection of the dead as pledged in Christ. "Paul! Paul! you are a great philosopher, but you have no common sense." Typical too of Paul's readiness to seize the most unlikely opening for his message, is the way in which he appeals from the pagan Festus to the Jew Agrippa II., so forcing the latter to show his partial sympathy at least with his brother Jew's faith in a God who intervenes in His people's cause. "Believest thou, King Agrippa, the Prophets? I know that thou believest." Well might the polished man of the world parry the home thrust with a light deprecation of Paul's "short cut" to Christianity, as he phrased it. "A short way," quoth he, "you are taking to effect my conversion"—such is the clear sense of his words. How lively all this is! And how dignified Paul's last word! "Would God that, whether by short or by long method, not only thou but also all my hearers to-day, might become such as even I am, saving these bonds"—suiting the action to the word.

When we read of Paul's considerable stay at Fair Havens, "nigh to which was a city Lasea," waiting for a change in the wind, we ask ourselves, "Is it not to this sojourn in Crete, all too brief to secure permanence for the seed sown by Paul him-

self, that he refers in the opening of the letter to Titus" (i. 5)? How natural that he should leave behind one of his party to complete his own hurried arrangements for the well-being of his fresh converts. But to this we must return later on in connection with the Pastoral Epistles as a whole.

As showing how closely woven is the texture of Acts, and how integral is its witness to such superhuman gifts as Paul claims for himself,[1] passing reference may be made to his foresight of the actual issue of the voyage, as a shipwreck that should not involve the loss of a hair of the head to any soul on board. Ramsay points out how a theory of interpolation here applied (to xxvii. 21–26, 33–38) would simply "cut out the centre of the picture" and leave no sufficient reason for the full narrative of the voyage. On the other hand, the Paul of the whole story is the Paul of the Epistles. Critical method has to be stultified if the superhuman element in Acts is to be got rid of altogether. Here at least "you must accept all or leave all." The like result emerges from a careful scrutiny of the narrative of Paul's experience in Melita.[2] There too the incidental touches are too realistic to be other than from the life. The simple religious moralizing of the "barbarians"—as our author from a genuinely Greek standpoint styles them—with its rapid change from one extreme to another, from escaped murderer to God, to suit the

[1] *E. g.*, 2 Cor. xii. 12; Rom. xv. 19.

[2] The minute accuracy of the description of the place of shipwreck has been recently shown by Ramsay in a supplemental paper in the *Expositor*, Fifth Series, vi. 154 ff.

changing facts, is quite inimitable. Moreover the official title, *Protos* or Headman, by which the ruler of the isle is called, has inscriptional corroboration. And this notice is all of a piece with the healing by prayer and laying-on of hands of this official's father, an incident illustrating and illustrated by the usage alluded to in James v. 14 f.

The verses describing the journey between Malta and Rome are packed with definite detail, of which we refer to two points only. First one gathers that there was already a group of "brethren" at Puteoli, who showed the wonted Christian hospitality: and next, that the Roman Christians or some of them could not but go out to meet the author of the Epistle to the Romans—heartiness which greatly encouraged the Apostle's much-tried spirit.

Paul's confinement at Rome was even less irksome than at Cæsarea; for he was allowed to live in lodgings of his own hiring, though under the surveillance of a soldier responsible for his appearing when needed. Of course the fact that he was actually fastened to this guardian by a light wrist-chain must have been most trying. But we may imagine how soon Paul would by his bearing win the regard of the men told off to this duty, and perhaps even the hearts of some of them for his Gospel, and so transfigure their close association into one of spiritual brotherhood. In any case, while not allowed to go out freely, he could enjoy the free access of friends and of any whom he might attract to his side.

It was quite natural for him to wish to conciliate the sympathy of the local Jews for his own person

and for his Gospel, ere word from Jerusalem or work among Gentiles in Rome should make both impossible. And so he invited their leading men to meet him. The account of this interview is not free from difficulties, which some suppose due to the fact that the "we" source, being a diary of travel, was no longer available. Yet our ignorance of the relations of Judaism and Judæo-Christianity in Rome at this date may make us pause before drawing negative conclusions. It is certainly to us surprising that the Jewish leaders should profess themselves both unaware of the case against Paul (in spite of the constant intercourse between Jews in Rome and Jerusalem) and in the dark as to the nature of the Christian "sect," of whose existence and general bad name among Jews they were perfectly conscious. But if we assume, as is probable, that the Gospel of "Messiah Jesus" had spread mainly among the poorer and non-official class of Jews in Rome, where it simply filtered in gradually and did not come with the advent of any marked personality (as we gather from Romans)—then we can understand how Jewish leaders might have ignored it, save as a fanatical movement or new sect in the lower ranks of their compatriots. And of such things Judaism was by no means intolerant. They may, then, have simply left it severely alone as unworthy of serious or official notice. But when they were confronted by a man obviously of good breeding and learning in the schools, who openly emphasized his belief in this as the very "Hope of Israel" and the sole cause of his breach with the Palestinian authorities, it was quite

another thing. Curiosity as to the actual nature of the despised movement might well replace superior indifference.[1] Appointing a day, they returned to his lodgings in considerable numbers, and listened from morn to eve as Paul set forth his testimony to "the Kingdom of God," adducing both the Law and the Prophets as proof that Jesus really fulfilled the Messianic promises. Part were inclined to believe, part to disbelieve; and there was some discussion between them on the subject. As they were on the point of departing, Paul quoted as a final warning the prophetic word in which Isaiah's largely ineffectual mission to their forefathers is announced (Is. vi. 9 f.), as reminder that their rejection might reflect on them rather than upon the message rejected. Once more, on a highly representative occasion, did the Apostle realize afresh the call of the Gentiles in contrast to the deafness of the Chosen People. And the last words of his which our historian selects for record embody this, the main moral of the whole narrative of the Apostolic foundation of the New Israel, the Christian Church.

The term is reached: the programme of i. 8 is in

[1] To this there seems only one real objection, namely the Messianic disturbances, probably marking the arrival of the Gospel of Jesus in the Roman *ghetto*, which occasioned the edict under which Aquila and Priscilla had left the city some ten years before. Could this have failed to attract the attention of the local Jewish authorities to the new ferment working among the masses? We should have expected that it would lead to a definite notion of its nature in their minds. Yet we cannot insist, in the face of positive evidence to the contrary, that so it must have been. Besides they very possibly professed more ignorance on the point than was needful, in order to draw out Paul's clearer statement.

principle fulfilled. Accordingly the historian simply adds that the forecast of Gentile receptiveness found actual realization in a two years' ministry, during which Paul preached in his lodgings to all comers, and taught "the things touching the Lord Jesus Christ with all freedom of speech, unhindered." The centre of gravity in the New *Ecclesia* has been gradually shifting; and we are left with the suggestion that the centre of the heathen world is destined to supersede the capital of Judæa as the centre of the Kingdom of God.

But though Acts itself enters into no details touching these two years, with which it thus significantly breaks off, we are able to fill in a good deal from Paul's own letters written during the period. Of these *Ephesians*, *Colossians* and *Philemon* go together in a group; while *Philippians* stands apart by itself both as to contents and date. Though the broad features of Paul's situation, as regards both Roman Christianity and the fortunes of his imprisonment, are fairly clear in any case, a good deal depends upon whether we view Philippians as preceding or as succeeding the group just named. What follows is based on the latter assumption, which may perhaps justify itself by its superior qualities as a working hypothesis.

Another literary problem, of greater difficulty and complexity, upon which certain personal details in our picture will depend, is that touching the date and origin of the Pastoral Epistles to Timothy and Titus respectively. Our own tentative solution is

discussed at length in the Literary Appendix; and we are not without hope that in the harmony of the picture which it enables us here to present may be found the best justification of the theory itself. But it is to be frankly recognized that the personal relations involved in the following narrative are put forward as necessarily provisional.

In what has been said touching Paul's doings since leaving Corinth early in 56 (57), it has seemed best to adhere closely to Acts as it hurries the apostle on, from point to point, with his face ever turned to Rome *via* Jerusalem: for this is true to the inward tendency of his own spirit and of the Gospel of which he was the impersonation. But there were plans within plans in the great missionary's activity: he never forgets old friends or interests, even where dreaming of yet greater enterprises. And so we must return for a little upon his track, to mark two side episodes which have their sequel in his life in Rome. The former of these has its record in 1 Timothy, the latter is involved in the letter to Titus.

When Paul left Ephesus for the last time, about Pentecost, *i. e.*, early summer, in the year 55 (56), things were by no means in a settled condition in the Ephesian Church. Hence in setting out for Macedonia, he not only "sent for the disciples and exhorted them" (Acts xx. 1), but also begged Timothy to stay on for a time and repress unwholesome tendencies which had their roots in Jewish prejudices of quite another order than those which have already met us in Palestinian circles. Those now in question did not tend to formal Judaizing, but to a

morbidly curious state of mind, busied with legends touching things like the patriarchal genealogies just mentioned in Genesis,[1] topics which fostered fanciful wranglings without at all promoting godliness of life (1 Tim. i. 3 f.). Timothy seems on this occasion to have stayed but a short space before joining Paul in Macedonia, in time to be named in the address of 2 Corinthians; and then to have accompanied him to Corinth, since he joins in the salutations at the end of Romans. Thence he sailed with the bearers of the Collection to await Paul at Troas. But there is no sign that he accompanied the party past Ephesus, to Jerusalem. Things were by no means looking healthy at Ephesus, as we learn from the apostle's address to its elders, whom he summoned to Miletus by a message of which Timothy was perhaps the bearer. How natural that he should leave Timothy to continue the work committed to him on the former occasion.

We may suppose, then, that 1 Timothy was written on board ship at or soon after leaving Miletus, to supplement such hurried instructions as Paul had been able to give his lieutenant before sending him to Ephesus. The report of the elders would supply fresh data. The pressing need of the Ephesian church was a more "wholesome" piety, a matter of "love out of a pure heart and a good conscience and faith unfeigned"—concerned with the great central facts of redemption, in contrast with "empty talk"

[1] An actual specimen of what is meant is found in the purely Jewish book on *Biblical Antiquities* falsely attributed to Philo, as also in the *Book of Jubilees.*

and fine-spun theorizings about the Mosaic Law[1] (i. 5–7). And to this end it was incumbent on Timothy to hand on solemnly to responsible local leaders the Pauline type of teaching as a safeguard in the new era, when the after results of old traditional ideas were beginning to appear among the converts, and when the Apostle's living presence was being withdrawn to other fields. It was, if we can only realize it, a very critical moment, calling loudly for such definite instructions to a young colleague, and so for the first specimen of a new class of letter, no longer to a church, but to the special apostolic delegate for a season in its midst. Paul is not indeed without hope of being able to take Ephesus on his way to Rome (iii. 14, iv. 13). Yet the solemnity with which he hands on "the deposit" of his authentic Gospel—in opposition to a pretentious "knowledge" of things divine, the ethical emptiness of which betrayed a lack of real

[1] As "the myths and interminable genealogies" of i. 4 point to the legendary amplifications of Old Testament history (*Haggada*) characteristic of the later Judaism; so the aspects of the Law here in view are probably the earlier stage of "the distinctive lore of a class of canonists and casuists," developments based on the Law and touching things morally indifferent (*Halacha*), which appear full blown in the Talmud. This may even account for the phrase "the antitheses of falsely styled knowledge" (*gnosis*, vi. 20, cf. John vii. 49), referring to the rival *dicta* of the Wise. The view has at least the merit of reckoning with known tendencies in Judaism which could hardly but react on Christianity (see Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, 130 ff.). Acts xx. 29 seems to refer to Judaizing teachers in speaking of the entering in of "grievous wolves"; while the emergence from among the local converts of "men speaking perverse things" points to Greek tendencies to dualism, both speculative and practical.

reverence—shows the misgivings he could not overcome.

That a letter written so soon after parting and dealing so largely with official duties, should be devoid of salutations, need not surprise us. Quite probably, however, a little note, a Postscript or informal enclosure, was sent along with the letter meant for more permanent use and reference. For the words, "Erastus stayed in Corinth, but Trophimus I left at Miletus sick," could only have been written from the near neighborhood of the latter place. And its proximity to Ephesus would make such news absurdly stale to Timothy long ere it could reach him from Rome, whence 2 Timothy, in which it is now preserved (iv. 20) among other miscellaneous items at the end, was actually despatched. Accordingly the verse is clearly out of place in its present setting, having been attracted thither by apparent affinity, while it exactly fits the situation just suggested. Erastus, Timothy's late associate on collection business (Acts. xix. 22), had been unable to join the party as an almoner from Corinth; while at the last moment Trophimus had fallen sick and could not sail with Paul from Miletus, though he was soon able to proceed and join him at Jerusalem (xxi. 29).

Very similar are the conditions which best explain the origin of the letter to Titus. On the voyage to Rome Paul's ship was driven by stress of weather to anchor at the Fair Havens in Crete. Hard by was the city of Lasea; and Paul was thus brought into touch with such Christianity as already existed in

the island, during the "considerable time" of his enforced stay. He found things in a very rudimentary state; and probably at the request of the local Christians left his tried associate Titus to help them towards fuller and purer faith, and such a degree of organization as was now felt needful. But all had been very hasty; and Titus soon found problems cropping up which he was glad to refer to Paul for advice. These, to judge from the reply, were mainly twofold: some were rooted in the unethical tendencies for which the Cretans were proverbial even among the Greeks; while others arose from Jewish fancies similar to those that troubled the Ephesian church (i. 10–16, iii. 9). The letter of advice is on the same lines as 1 Timothy, only here we have mention of several personal matters. In his inexperience of the delays in the imperial Court of Appeal, Paul is already anticipating being able to winter at Nicopolis (probably Actium in Epirus); and he wants Titus to meet him there as soon as he receives word through Artemas or Tychicus. Meantime he bids him further "Zenas the lawyer and Apollos," the bearers of the letter, on their journey—possibly to Palestine, to gather evidence in his favor. This is highly suggestive, in relation to the theory that Apollos may have been the author of the epistle to "the Hebrews." It also brings out the value Paul attached to acts of brotherly love among Christians, since he bids Titus get "our folk" to take in hand fair deeds, such as that for which the needs of journeying brethren gave scope. The letter, then, may be dated roughly to

early summer 59 (60): and we may imagine that Apollos had hastened from Corinth to Paul's side soon after his arrival in Rome quite early in that year.

But the apostle was to have long trial of his patience, between being handed over by Julius to the head of his department (*Princeps peregrinorum*, the *Stratopedarch* of some manuscripts in Acts xxviii. 16), that of soldiers on detached special service, and being actually tried. He had, in fact, arrived at an untimely moment in the history of Nero's principate. The first "five years," during which his policy was mainly guided by his old tutor Seneca in concert with Burrus, the prætorian prefect, were expiring—had already expired, if it was in 60 rather than 59 when Paul reached Rome. It was early in 59 that Nero put his own mother Agrippina to death and fell ever more and more under the influence of Poppæa, the mistress who finally secured first the divorce and then the murder of his consort Octavia (June 62). Poppæa had strong leanings to Judaism, and on several occasions interfered in the Jewish cause. Accordingly the chance of an early and fair trial for such a case as Paul's was never less. Early in 62 Burrus also died and was succeeded as prefect by Tigellinus, one of Nero's most abandoned associates—a fact of significance if the case came on as late as 62, since Poppæa and Tigellinus were close allies.

In the summer of the first year[1] of Paul's stay in

[1] An early date best suits the opening door of Col. iv. 3. The view that this was in 59 rather than 60 is somewhat confirmed by the fact that Tacitus assigns to 60 the ruin of Laodicea by an earthquake, some allusion to which might be expected in letters to the region shortly after that date.

Rome there seems to have arrived news from a quarter and of a kind hitherto beyond our ken. It came from an inland district of the province of Asia, which had been widely influenced during Paul's residence at Ephesus. There in the valley of the Lycus, a tributary of the Mæander which flows westward into the Ægean Sea near Miletus, several churches had sprung up, partly at least under the fostering care of Epaphras. Laodicea and Hierapolis are alluded to in the Colossian Epistle, and meet us again in subsequent Christian literature. But it was the affairs of Colossæ, the remotest of the three, that chiefly brought Epaphras to Rome. All these cities had a large trade in dyed wools in particular, and had numerous Jewish settlers. Their presence was the special cause at once of the root so early taken by the Gospel in that region and of the doctrinal aberrations which reflect themselves in Paul's letter. But there were other traditional influences at work, pagan in character, yet parallel in religious tendency with the local Judaism. Indeed at this time, and in Asia Minor as much as anywhere, there was much mutual assimilation in religions differing in origin but existing side by side. In writing to the "Galatians," in a region not so far from the Lycus Valley in place or feeling, Paul had virtually compared the Jewish and pagan notions of religious observance in what he writes in Gal. iv. 3–11. But they are no less the real causes which explain the apparently sudden emergence of alien or perverted features in other Pauline communities. The recrudescence of old religious thought and unchal-

lenged instincts in the converts, is the secret of the larger part of the phenomena which surprise us in the Pauline Epistles, where the great missionary is engaged, like every foreign missionary to-day, in uprooting the rank undergrowth of new fields already annexed by the Gospel.

Here, then, as among the Galatians, we find men who were good Christians at heart, but who, having been freed from a hard ceremonial law, "put themselves once more into the bonds of another ceremonial law, equally hard." The inducement differed somewhat in the two cases. The Galatians were "bewitched" by Judaizers of a narrow zeal for the Mosaic rites as national laws of divine origin. The Colossians were swayed rather by an ascetic motive, bound up with a conception of Salvation which made it turn on the action of invisible hierarchies of angelic powers, good and bad, of light and darkness, in whose hands by Divine ordinance lay the control of human destiny. This mode of thought was common to Judaism and paganism in these as in many other regions, and has left its record in works of Jewish origin.[1] Thus there can be little question that the Colossian errors were in the main due to ideas already at work in the local Judaism, and were not at all what is usually styled "Gnostic" in origin.[2]

[1] To the Essenes by the Dead Sea and elsewhere, and the Egyptian Therapeutæ, we may now add the type of thought found in the *Testament of Solomon.*

[2] Even the reference to some outsider who was trying to get them to accept his "philosophy," which Paul styles "vain deceit after the tradition of men, after the elements of the world and not after Christ" (ii. 8), does not negative this. For "philoso-

It is, indeed, probable that the traditional notion of Gnosticism, as an outgrowth of Greek intellectualism and pride in "knowing," is in the main a mistake. The interest of Christian *gnosis* seems ever to have been at bottom practical, the yearning for salvation. But inasmuch as the Greek was apt to minimize the place of moral effort and discipline in human perfection, his methods of "Salvation" were often one-sidedly a matter of knowledge, a knowledge deeper than the ordinary and reached through initiation or the revelation embodied in the tradition of a divinely authorized hierarchy or society. The absence of the idea of a genuinely moral emancipation, flowing from a renewed will, caused the extremes on either side to be resorted to in turn or in combination, namely mere enlightenment, or mere external conduct determined by sacred rules of purity.

Here, then, are indicated the two tendencies at work among the Colossians as reported by Epaphras (with or without an accompanying letter from the church), and also the line taken by Paul's reply. He shows that they are speculating in the void as regards their "wisdom" about "thrones and lordships and dominions and authorities" in the invisible world—through none of which had God actually transplanted them "out of the dominion of darkness" into the realm of redemption and forgiveness of sins. This had been solely through "the Son of

phy" in the first century was often conceived practically, as a higher theory and discipline of life. It is in this sense that Philo styles the largely practical system of the Essenes "philosophy apart from the superfluous element of Greek technicalities."

His love," in and through whom, accordingly, all further progress toward perfection or maturity of salvation must also come about. He who had done this great work must be in nature incomparably raised above all the rest of the heavenly hierarchy, nay, be the very ground of its being, as of all things visible, the Firstborn in relation to all creation. So that the adoration of angelic powers, whose impotence had been tested in the old days, was after His manifestation a gratuitous self-humbling, indicative of a grovelling habit of mind and of an inadequate appreciation of the all-sufficient Saviour. In His death they had died "away from the material elements of the world" (even as conceived to be controlled by angelic beings) into a new sphere of being —to which rules about not touching this, or not tasting that (*e. g.*, wine or meat), have no relevance. Their true sphere was that realm of higher aims and motives (iii. 1 ff.) into which joint resurrection with Christ, their one Head, had ushered them. There let them think, feel, will, live; and by its own laws and motives alone. It was a shame to think that Christ's energies in them needed eking out by pitiful ceremonial by-laws, like those they had renounced all trust in when they trusted Him for redemption. They had received of God through Christ a "new man" and a renewed will. Let them exercise it in all its distinctive newness, that by exercise it may unfold all its infinite latent potencies of goodness and holiness in love.

What strikes one, in addition to the splendid innerness and spirituality of this outburst, is its uni-

versal outlook, befitting one gazing forth from Rome, the centre of the world of men.[1] The Gospel is "fruit-bearing and growing in all the world," and has virtually been already "proclaimed in all creaturedom under heaven." And this thought gives the dominant note to the so-called Epistle "to the Ephesians," in reality an epistle devoid of special connection with any one church, and so of personal salutations, but sent to the churches of directly or indirectly Pauline foundation in provincial Asia. The copy that has reached us represents the one preserved in the Ephesian church; yet probably it is the same in contents as that to which reference is made in Colossians, when they are bidden exchange letters with the sister church of Laodicea (iv. 18). The thoughts are in substance almost identical in *Colossians* and *Ephesians*, for their conditions and the mood of the apostle's mind in writing were alike: only the emphasis changes. In the former it falls on the unique divinity of Christ, in contrast to other heavenly beings, as shown by His being Head of the Church. In the latter it is the other aspect that is placed in relief, in keeping with local needs; namely the unity and majesty of the Church of which Christ is the Head, ideally coextensive with humanity, all barriers between men being removed by the mode of their reconciliation to the one Father through the one true Son. Similarly "the

[1] Those do not seem to err who trace to this fresh psychological situation an influence on the conscious development of the apostle's theological horizon, especially as regards Christ's place in the Universe already hinted in 1 Cor. viii. 6.

fulness of Godhead" is predicated of Christ differently in the two writings. In the former He is, in spite of His bodily form as man,[1] the possessor of this fulness as "the treasures of wisdom and knowledge"; and inasmuch as He has them as Head of the Church, Christians are potentially "fulfilled" therewith in virtue of their oneness with Him (ii. 3, 9 ff.). In the latter the Church is viewed as the sphere within which the latent energies of the Divine Head are receiving their realization: so that He may be said to be "fulfilled" by it, as body needed to complement the head, or as bride in union with whom the bridegroom actually attains a fuller, larger, more energetic life (Eph. i. 22 f., v. 25–32).

Along with the letter to the Colossian Christians collectively, went also a private letter to one of them, Philemon, whose runaway slave Onesimus had by a strange coincidence met Paul in Rome and been by him converted to Christ. While willing to retain him as a personal attendant on himself, the apostle respects Philemon's prior rights to his service, albeit the relation of master and slave will now be on another basis, that of brethren in Christ—as Paul hints in his exquisitely tactful and allusive letter. This has been called the model of a Christian gentleman's correspondence; and its inimitable originality has proved a very sheet anchor to the claims of Colossians, when the storm as to its genuineness raged most fiercely, owing to our ignorance of the manifold conditions of the age to which we can now see

[1] So annulling the supposed essential dualism of the spiritual and material worlds, to which all ascetic rules tended to go back.

that it naturally belongs. The two are linked indissolubly by the personal salutations in each.

These salutations give us welcome glimpses of the apostle's environment. They tell us of Aristarchus, a member of the Thessalonian church, and a tried friend both in Ephesus (Acts xix. 29) and on the voyage to Rome (xxvii. 2), who is now honorably mentioned as sharing Paul's confinement, probably as personal attendant (Col. iv. 10),—a pious duty which Epaphras also had begun to share (Philem. 23); of Mark, Barnabas' cousin, the subject of a kindly message to Colossæ on some former occasion,[1] and who was perhaps to pass ere long by the Lycus Valley; of Jesus, surnamed Justus, one of those many friends of Paul who, though otherwise unknown to us, prove how large was his capacity for evoking and returning that noblest friendship, the oneness of good men in a holy cause to which they are devoting heart and life. These three are referred to as Jews, and as Paul's sole helpers of his own race at that time in Rome. This is important, as showing how aloof Judæo-Christians were standing from him, a fact of which we shall learn more presently. Of Gentile brethren, besides their attached Epaphras, who yet could not make up his mind to leave Paul to return at once with the letter, there were Luke the "beloved physician," who seems never to have left his side since joining him at Phil-

[1] After the old confidence had been restored during Paul's stay in Jerusalem or Cæsarea. This notice also implies previous communication between Paul and Colossæ—a fresh hint of the gaps in our knowledge of his full life.

ippi more than three years before, and Demas. Of him, remarkably enough, nothing is said by way of definition.[1] Highly suggestive, too, are the references to "the brethren in Laodicea and Nympha and the *ecclesia* in her house"; and to Archippus, apparently Philemon's son (saluted along with Philemon's wife Apphia) and minister in some sense to the saints meeting at his father's house in Colossæ. The question of such "churches in the house" must be considered in connection with the general topic of early Christian fellowship and organization. But the homely and informal impression conveyed at first blush by such references must be duly borne in mind.

While Tychicus was obviously the bearer of all three letters, we gather from the address of two of them that Timothy was then at Paul's side. These personal data, taken with those already referred to, are our main clue amid the obscurity surrounding the remainder of Paul's days in Rome. Placing them alongside the closing paragraphs of 2 Timothy, verses full of concrete personal detail, we may perhaps reconstruct a good deal of the life of the Pauline circle and learn more than is otherwise possible about the epistle to the Philippians.

"Do thy diligence," writes Paul to Timothy, "to come to me speedily: for Demas hath forsaken me in his love of the present age, and hath departed to Thessalonica; Crescens to Galatia, Titus to Dalmatia. Luke alone is with me. Get hold of Mark

[1] This surely means that he was well known to the Colossians. If so, he was perhaps one of Paul's helpers in Asia. Little can be built on his going to Thessalonica (ii. Tim. iv. 10).

and bring him with thee, for he is useful to me for ministering; while Tychicus I have sent to Ephesus. The cloak (or 'book-case,' as in Syriac Versions) which I left in Troas with Carpus bring as thou comest, and the books, particularly the parchments [in contrast to *papyri*]. Do thy diligence to come before winter. Eubulus saluteth thee, and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia, and the brethren (as a whole). The Lord be with thy spirit."

The situation is as follows. Of those with Paul when Colossians was written, Demas has found the growing dangers of association with the prisoner too great; the rest are away on various missions, save Luke only. Mark is in Asia, on the visit hinted in Col. iv. 10; while Titus has been relieved from his work in Crete, and is off again, this time to Dalmatia, the southern part of Illyricum—a hint that the Pauline missions were far more numerous and wide-spread than we are in the habit of thinking. Finally Tychicus is on his way to Ephesus (though by an indirect route, *e. g.*, by Philippi or Crete), a fact which makes it the easier for Timothy to obey the present summons and leave. After finding Mark somewhere, he is to call at Troas and bring certain articles left there by Paul several years ago.[1] He is to come at once if possible, before winter. Finally he is assured of the remembrance of many friends made on a former visit.

The general impression gained of Paul's condition is that a sudden need has arisen for Timothy's renewed presence, occasioned immediately by the desertion of Demas, a fact which itself suggests that the prospects of his still delayed trial were becoming

[1] In the hope of picking them up on his expected journey from Jerusalem to Rome, an expectation frustrated by his arrest.

darker. The time of year must be summer, and not the early summer, in his second year in Rome. Doubtless Timothy hurried to Rome, possibly informing the Philippians on his way of Paul's desolate condition, and so prompting the generous relief sent through Epaphroditus, of which we learn from *Philippians*. This epistle, in which Timothy is once more associated with Paul, cannot have been written immediately on receipt of the gift that showed once more the peculiar love of the Philippian church and strangely warmed the apostle's heart.[1] For time had elapsed sufficient at least to let them hear of the sickness which the zeal of Epaphroditus, probably the hot haste of his journey, had brought upon him (ii. 26 f. 30). And now Epaphroditus, so far convalescent and perhaps accompanied by[2] Luke "the beloved physician," is anxious to return to Philippi, in which there seems to have been also some need for his presence, since Paul speaks of sending Timothy shortly, to get news of their affairs and so cheer his mind. There are signs in the epistle itself

[1] Zahn thinks he wrote such a letter, and that they replied in a solicitous tone. Paul wrote several letters to Philippi. This is the plain meaning of Polycarp, in saying that Paul "wrote to you letters (ἐπιστολὰς), into the which if ye look diligently, ye shall be able to build yourselves up unto the faith given to you" (*Ad Phil.* iii. 2). It is most unlikely that he should have failed to write his thanks for several former gifts (iv. 15 f.); while the half-apology for repeating his message of "good cheer in the Lord," found in iii. 1, points to a previous letter of like purport. The present letter was probably evoked by the tone of concern in one from them, to certain phrases of which he seems to revert more than once (*e. g.*, ii. 19, "that I too may 'be cheered' by learning *your* affairs").

[2] This best accounts for the omission of Luke's name.

of a slight cloud on the horizon,[1] in a certain lack of harmony among leading Christians, evident not only in the special message to two women, Euodia and Syntyche, but also in the emphasis on the grace of humility in the great passage where Christ is set forth as the example of self-forgetful love (ii. 1 ff., iv. 2). In this connection we learn that a certain Synzygus (on whose name Paul seems to play, calling him "truly-named Yoke-fellow," *Synzygos*) and Clement were prominent workers at Philippi. On the whole then, this letter is in the happiest mood, "the noblest reflection of St. Paul's personal character and spiritual illumination, his large sympathies, his womanly tenderness, his delicate courtesy." He forgets his own troubles and anxieties in grateful joy over the divine fruits visible in his loved converts; his one solicitude is to remove their apprehension touching his lot; the desire that outweighs even the thought of rest in his Lord's nearer presence, is that of being for a while longer at the service of his children in the gospel.

How great the victory involved in such a spirit at such a time, becomes apparent when we observe his actual isolation in the very midst of the large Chris-

[1] To what appears in the text may be added the presence of a few persons not crucified to carnal tendencies such as those already seen at work in the Corinthian church (iii. 18 f., cf. i. 10). It is this, perhaps, which determines the ideal of conduct set forth in iv. 8, which is nearer than anything else in the New Testament to the ideal of the Greek or Roman gentleman (*καλοκἀγαθός*). But the general gladness of the epistle shows that the danger was but slight, as was that of Judaizing influences from outside (iii. 2 ff. cf. the "Christ-party" at Corinth, a type also warned against in Rom. xvi. 17 f.).

tian community in Rome. This fact peeps out between the lines in more than one passage. He is feeling the contrast between the attitude of Roman Christians to him and his, and that of churches which owed their very souls to him. The narrowing influence of the personal element even in Christian interest and sympathy, is echoed in the sad words, "all seek their own interests, not those of Christ Jesus"; by which he seems to refer to the lack in Rome of any real Christian catholicity of feeling. So that, although his bold witness emboldened many to speak out the word of God, as they understood it, more freely than before his coming; yet they did not show personal sympathy for him or his work, preferring to take their own line and that at a safe distance. Indeed some of the narrow or Judaizing type were even stirred to preach the Messiah the more zealously out of sheer rivalry, with impure motives, thinking to make the prisoner's constraint the more galling to him, as they used their freedom to propagate what he could but regard as a maimed Gospel. Yet his magnanimity enabled him to rejoice that even so Christ was thereby reaching men's ears. While many, admiring and even revering him as a great champion of the Gospel amid heathenism, were preaching with good-will and love to Paul, though without any tokens of tender affection or personal loyalty.

It is clear that the early stage of praying for the door to open to his ministry, as of "an ambassador in a chain," and for the grace of outspokenness (Col. iv. 3 f.; Eph. vi. 20), is already long past. It is now

his to cheer the Philippians with the assurance that his hard lot—the long delay in irksome restraint—has even promoted the spread of the Gospel. For his case as a prisoner has brought Christ to the notice of "the whole *Prætorium*," or supreme Imperial Court of Appeals,[1] "and of all the rest." His case was in fact a *cause célèbre*, and was setting men, especially the legal profession, asking what lay behind it, what the *externa superstitio* was that set Jews by the ears, and who this "Christ," on whom all turned, might be. The probabilities, indeed, of life and death seemed to him to be humanly speaking about equal. It looks as though he were beginning to realize all the bearings of his own case in the eye of the State (cf. ii. 17); not only, that is, as a matter of tolerating a branch of Judaism, but as an affair of public order—the grave charge already raised by Tertullus at Cæsarea (Acts xxiv. 5), when he taxed Paul with being "a pestilent fellow and a mover of seditions among all the Jews throughout the civilized world." But as yet it had not narrowed itself down to this dangerous issue, as it prob-

[1] Mommsen has shown that this is the meaning of the *Prætorium* in i. 13, namely the whole body of judges associated with the Prefect or Prefects of the Prætorian Guard (as representing the Emperor as the fountain of justice), the *Cour de Cassation* of the Empire. "The saints of Cæsar's household" (iv. 22) represent a different circle, and one in which, as "in most intimate relations with all parts of the Empire," Christianity probably had long had a footing. Ramsay holds Lightfoot right in thinking that the slaves of Aristobulus (son of Herod the Great) and of Narcissus (Claudius' favorite freedman) had passed into the Imperial household, and that members of these *familiæ* are saluted as Christians as early as Romans xvi. 10 f.

ably did in the sequel. This explains the more hopeful tone of the earliest group of letters, the more dubious tone of *Philippians*, the settled foreboding of 2 Timothy as a whole.

For now we have to notice that the tenor of 2 Timothy is quite alien to that even of Philippians. His confinement was more rigorous; he was "faring ill, up to the point of bonds, like a criminal" (ii. 9). 'He had no hope of acquittal: he recognized that he was "already being poured forth as an offering, and the time of his departure was come." The gloom and hopelessness of the situation damped and dismayed all his friends: at his first hearing "all forsook" him: yet for the time he "was delivered out of the mouth of the lion" (a proverb for extreme peril). In every respect the situation thus indicated is the opposite of the circumstances described on the first trial.' These words are quoted, as giving a due sense of the contrast between 2 Timothy and all other notices of Paul's Roman experiences, a contrast which Ramsay thinks explicable only on the assumption of two trials separated by a period of liberation. The inference, implied in the words "on the first trial," is more than dubious. But the fact from which it starts, the absence of all hope of final release, is certain, and is to our mind inconsistent with the tenor of so much of ch. iv. 9 ff. as was quoted some pages back and shown to be intermediate between *Colossians* and *Philippians*. The moral of 2 Timothy up to iv. 8, is that Timothy should play the man *at his post*, all the more that Paul himself is just laying down his weapons (see iv 1–8 in

particular). It is almost inconceivable that hard on this should come the words, "Do thy diligence to come to me speedily, for Demas has deserted me," etc., (even though events had moved rapidly and needed a Postscript). Paul was looking for his departure any day, and would not be sending afar for the comfort of congenial ministry, or for his cloak and books. The thought finds its only proper sequel in iv. 16–18, "In my first defence no man stood by my side to support my plea, but all deserted me."[1] Then might follow 19 (cf. i. 16–18), 22 b; and would be Paul's last extant words.

The very last days of Paul's life are lost to our view. The great thing is to know the spirit in which he entered "the valley of the shadow of death." To him death was but a shadow. He was departing "to be with Christ," which was "very far better" as concerned himself. And now he was satisfied that even the work of God was no longer to detain him—the Lord's work was safe in His strong keeping. And so he sings his swan-song in triumph: "As for me, I am already being poured out as an offering, and the hour of my departure is upon me. The good fight I have fought, the course I have finished, the faith I have kept. Henceforth there is laid up

[1] If, as is likely, the ill-will to Paul displayed by Alexander the coppersmith consisted in gainsaying his pleadings as to the origin of the riot at Ephesus (cf. Acts xix. 33), then iv. 14, 15 go along with 16–18. And in this case the desertion by "all those in Asia," such as Phygelus and Hermogenes (men of official position?), refers to their refusal to stir a finger to support Paul's case with evidence in Rome: to whose supineness Onesiphorus supplies a shining contrast, by identifying himself with his old master in his hour of adversity.

for me the crown of righteousness, which the Lord shall give me in that day, the righteous Judge; and not to me only, but also to all that have loved His appearing." He died, as a Roman citizen, by the sword, gladdened, we may believe, in his last hours by the sympathy of Timothy, whom affection had drawn unbidden to his side.

All that has so far been described assumes that Paul was never released from his Roman confinement, save by the executioner's sword. The opposite is, however, the common belief among English-speaking scholars. Lightfoot argues [1] for a release about 63, a renewed activity around the Ægean and probably also in Spain, rearrest about 67, and martyrdom in that or the next year. But in spite of the extreme elaborateness of the itinerary which he is forced to imagine, his scheme fails to harmonize all the data, notably of 2 Timothy. Indeed it may be doubted whether any theory that fails to recognize the composite origin of 2 Tim. iv. 9 ff. can even seem to do so. [2] This is the strong point about so-

[1] Especially in two of his old Cambridge Lectures, published in the posthumous volume of *Biblical Essays*. Ramsay seems to adopt the like view, but does not attempt to work out the details. Any theory that puts the letters as late as 65–68 has (1) to encounter the absence of all sentiment toward the government such as the massacre of 64 would leave behind (1 Tim. ii. 2 would seem a sorry sarcasm after 64), as well as of any echoes of the stirring events in Palestine from 66 onward; and (2) to justify the comparative youthfulness attributed to Timothy in the second letter (i. 2, ii. 1, 22, "flee the passions of youth"), seeing he must in 67 have been with Paul some eighteen years and have reached the age of thirty-eight or forty at least.

[2] How utterly improbable, for instance, that Demas would have sought Paul out on a second imprisonment and then deserted.

called "Partition Theories," which however begin to be arbitrary and mutually discordant as soon as they venture much further (see *Literary Appendix*). As regards the supposed release itself, Lightfoot is confronted by the presumption against a release created by Paul's words to the Ephesian elders at Miletus (Acts xx. 25): "And now, lo, I know that ye all, among whom I went about preaching the Kingdom, shall see my face no more." He replies that this personal presentiment cannot be pressed, the more so that it is balanced by presentiments of an opposite kind, like the passage in Phil. ii. 24, i. 25; Philem. 22. But he fails to observe the force of the fact that the author of Acts, writing as an historian after Paul's death, thinks it worth while to record these words, and even gives them emphasis by referring to them in his own person at the end of the speech (xx. 38). So economical a writer would not have troubled to record an unfulfilled presentiment, with no hint that it was so unfulfilled.[1] Therefore this passage tells strongly against Lightfoot's view, and can only be overcome by counter evidence of a very cogent nature. This he and others think they find in a positive statement in 1 *Clement* (A. D. 96), just a generation after the supposed release, to the effect that Paul after reaching the bound of the West (τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως) and bearing witness before the rulers, so departed from this world (v. 7). But though the phrase "the bound of the West,"

[1] The same idea, that God was preparing the apostle for something in itself tragic, but through Paul's attitude to it glorious, runs through the whole sequel in Acts.

taken by itself, would certainly suggest some point further west than Rome (*e. g.*, Spain), yet the context, which refers to Paul's preaching in both East and West, may well modify its sense and make it mean "his limit in the West." [1] Nor can one separate the participles "*having come* to the western bound and *witnessed* before the rulers"—while all allow that the latter refers to Rome. For another reason Clement cannot mean that Paul survived the date 64: since he adds that to Peter and Paul was gathered (*συνεθροίσθη*) the multitude of Neronian martyrs of 64 (vi. 1). And so Clement goes over bodily to the other side. Later Patristic evidence seems for the most part mere inference from Rom. xv. 28; while the apocryphal Acts of Paul and Peter assume Paul's martyrdom on his first trial.

[1] Cf. the statement found in one MS. at the end of St. Mark, that "Jesus sent forth from East even to West the sacred and incorruptible Gospel," by means of the Apostles. Since the publication of the present work, the case against Paul's release has been restated in the *American Journal of Theology*, iv. 23–48, in an article to which the reader may refer for all details.

CHAPTER VII.

LATER PALESTINIAN DAYS.

(*a*) *General State of Palestine.*

A. D. 44–66.

ABOUT the middle of the century things began to go from bad to worse with the Jews in Palestine. Already under Caligula and Claudius there had been much to resent. But with the troubles which led to the deposition of the procurator Cumanus in 52 A. D., and the elevation of his late junior colleague Felix, began a progressive exasperation on both sides which explains even the desperate and fanatical character of the war of defiance ending in the supreme tragedy of 70 A. D. It was not only that the successive procurators, Felix (52–58), Festus (58–61), Albinus (62–65), Florus (65–66), were in various ways almost as unfit for their delicate position as men could be. There were also deeper causes, inherent in the temper and social condition of the Jews themselves at this epoch, which made some sort of national outburst well-nigh inevitable.

Besides the incompatibility of temper and of traditions as between the ruling and the subject race, there was, first of all, a clash of essential ideals in-

volved in the coexistence side by side of the Roman State and the Jewish Church. The spirit of each was embodied in its Law; the one cosmopolitan, utilitarian, equally tolerant of all religious beliefs as such; the other intensely exclusive, claiming to speak with the categorical imperative of the Divine behest, and so brooking no rival within its own borders. But to the Jewish mind the Thorah's borders were in fact coextensive with the whole of life, national and personal. It could have no real being save as a polity, an organization of society through and through. Like Islam, Judaism could acquiesce in no dualism between civil and religious society. All must rest immediately on one single basis, and that the revealed divine will. As long as this was not so, the thoroughgoing Jew felt that he had another master beside Jehovah. This might be tolerated indeed in the face of overwhelming force, but only in the hope of the day when the yoke of the uncircumcised Gentile should be forever dashed from his neck and Jehovah become Israel's King once more.

Such a people could never, while they held fast their convictions, be other than in a latent state of protest looking toward revolt. Yet the cause of national emancipation was very differently regarded by different types of Jews. And in fact the divergence of ideals was singularly well-marked among them at the period in question. The Sadducees and Herodians had in various fashions practically ceased to be Jews in heart; for they had made terms with the inevitable in their own behalf. They had even ceased

to wish things altered, lest they should no longer find themselves in the places of pride and influence. To occupy these in a free Israel was doubtless preferable. But a theocracy, with themselves in obscurity, would be no Kingdom of heaven to them. And so they feared all change, and especially that form which might spring from the enthusiasm of the masses. At the other extreme were the "quiet in the land," to whom the Kingdom meant something altogether divine and heavenly, not of the world in which those others had their being. To this general class of "the meek" belonged not only the otherworldly Essenes, who had given up all hope of a national salvation, or Kingdom of holiness, but also the Christians, into whose ranks had passed the flower of the humbly pious, like John's parents and Joseph and Mary. These while doing their duty in the lot in which Jehovah had placed them, had been "waiting for Israel's consolation" from on high. As such godly folks mused on the promises of this consolation, whether in Prophets or in that Apocalyptic literature which served as their commentary and supplement—and the influence of which we are just learning to realize—they felt that the Divine Kingdom was to come by the kindred method of divine interposition, and not by that brute force which it was part of its glory to replace by humaner ways. Hence while the non-Essenic branch of them felt their hearts beat high with national aspirations, yet they held aloof from all movements that relied on "the arm of flesh" rather than the Providence of God.

Intermediate between these two types were the

common middle-class Pharisees, a large proportion of such Jews as took their religion seriously. They had grave religious defects, even when we consider the rank and file rather than the extremer types which meet us for the most part in the Gospels. But the more thoughtful of them felt that it was no part even of zealous piety to risk all where the prospect of success was, to human calculation, at a minimum. And so their leaders concurred generally with the actual policy of their more worldly rivals, the Sadducean hierarchy; at any rate as to the folly of immediate revolt from Rome, and as to the danger of being dragged at the tail of any popular uprising led by ignorant visionaries, such as the bulk of those who presented themselves as national deliverers notoriously were. Yet, seeing that this party was not on principle opposed to the use of force, any more than their spiritual ancestors who formed the backbone of the Maccabean rising more than two centuries before, there was always a chance of its more fiery section espousing the claims and prospects of a given leader or would-be Messiah, and in the enthusiasm of the hour flocking to his side. Finally there were the unsettled classes in Palestine, those on whom the generally evil state of things, the fruit of oppression and extortion both by native and alien, pressed heaviest.

Religion was not as a rule tried very strictly by moral tests. So that among the party known as the "Zealots," from their passionate hatred of the rule of the foreigner, were found men of all kinds and of all motives, ranging from the pure religious fanatic

to the mere bankrupt of fortune, whose instinct was all for change at any price. The peasantry leaned largely to Zealotry, and on several occasions shed their blood with perfect abandon in the semi-religious national cause. But the longer the restless and disorganized state of Palestinian society lasted, the lower became the average level of Zealotry. And soon after gaining a footing in Jerusalem itself, in the early years of the infamous Felix (52–58), its ringleaders became known as the Assassins (*Sicarii*), a secret society of the *stiletto*, for the promotion of the revolt from Rome and the removal of all who stood in the way of that goal. Henceforth morbid excitation of mind was more and more concentrated in the capital, the city of stirring memories and unbounded hopes. The party of order, varied as were their motives and worth, became less and less able to hold the war party in check, as scandal to Jewish feeling followed scandal, and as sign seemed to follow sign—all making for a crisis. Typical of the times was the Egyptian impostor referred to in Acts xxi. 38, who first attracted to himself in the desert of Judæa some thousands of Sicarii and others, and then, having persuaded them of his prophetic vocation, led them to the Mount of Olives, claiming that they would see the walls of Jerusalem fall flat before him. Reports of portents assailed the highly-wrought mind on every side; and everything was seen by the popular imagination through the haze of apocalyptic forecasts and omens. All this had, as soil in which to germinate, the undying sense of a divine election of the nation, now intensified for most minds into a

definite Messianic programme. For was there not "to go forth at this time, from their midst, one who should be master of the world"?

Accordingly, when Festus, Felix's successor in an evil tradition, died in office about the end of 61 or the beginning of 62, the Jewish authorities must have felt the situation very critical and themselves called upon to take every precaution against the Messianic hope leading to a violent outburst. This was probably the meaning of their attitude towards the leaders of the Christian community in Jerusalem early in the three months' rule of Ananus the Younger, high-priest during the procuratorial interregnum. According to our text of Josephus, he brought James the Lord's brother before the Sanhedrin, along with certain others; and got them all condemned to death by stoning, as having violated the Jewish law in some way.[1] This sentence, the execution of which shocked the more reasonable citizens—"men, too, well versed in the Law"—was probably due to official fear of popular leaders vaguely suspected of fostering Messianic agitation, as the brother of "Jesus the so-called Christ" might plausibly be accused of doing. The later account given by Hegesippus of the martyrdom of James, when stripped of certain transparent Jewish-Christian embellishments, points the same way. He is there represented as having enjoyed the utmost ven-

[1] Probably in much the same sense as Jesus himself was condemned for breaking the Law. So Hegesippus (Euseb. iv. 22) writes, "after James the Just had been martyred in like manner as the Lord, *on the same count*," *i. e.*, for Messianic reasons.

eration of the Jewish populace, by reason of his strict and devoted piety after the manner of a Nazirite, a traditional type of saintliness, and in particular through his habit of constant prayer, which won him the title of the Just and of Obliam, or "Rampart of the People." In consequence of this he came to be consulted by certain members of the Jewish sects or parties already described in general terms, as to "the Way (lit. Door) of Jesus."[1] His reply was that He was the Saviour, *i. e.*, the true Deliverer of Israel, the Messiah. Then the Sadducaic rulers, observing the strong drift there was (at a time so critical as the morrow of the death of the procurator Festus) towards faith in Jesus as Messiah, tried to get the popular saint to throw his weight into the opposite scale to what they styled Messianic "delusion." But his reply to the test question, as to "the Way of Jesus," was just the one to arouse their bitterest resentment. "Why ask ye me," said he, "touching Jesus the Son of Man? He, and none other, is seated in heaven at the right hand of the Great Power, and is about to come upon the clouds of heaven." So inflammatory an utterance, especially if, as the account implies, it was spoken when Jerusalem was filling for the Passover, could meet with but one answer from such a tribunal: he was

[1] It is tempting to suppose that before the story reached Hegesippus the impersonal sense of the Semitic word for "Salvation," which as a personal name is rendered by "Jesus" (Matt. i. 21; Heb. iv. 8), had been forgotten. If so, the question originally ran, "What is the door of Salvation," or national deliverance (cf. Luke i. 69, 71; Acts iv. 12, v. 31.)? This at any rate was the question of the hour.

stoned to death. It is not certain whether the others who suffered at the same time (as Josephus states) were also Christians. Possibly they were exponents of other forms of the Messianic ideal.

James' successor in the headship of the Jerusalem Christians was Symeon, "whom all put forward as being a blood relation of the Lord," in fact a cousin on Joseph's side. This statement is suggestive of the rather carnal way in which this highly Jewish community viewed the Messianic Kingdom: and this impression is deepened when we learn that a similar feeling for the family prerogative still existed a generation later. For the leadership among the Palestinian churches enjoyed by the grandsons of Jude, the Lord's brother, was traceable not only to their faithful witness before Domitian but also to the accident of their birth. In fact a special title of respect, *Desposyni* or "the Lord's folk," was reserved for the family as a whole.

No general persecution followed the martyrdom of James. But his death may well have been the signal for increased pressure being brought to bear on the Judæo-Christians throughout Palestine, to induce them to give up hoping for salvation through the return of Jesus Messiah, and to rely simply on the common means of acceptance with God and national deliverance. So would cease the friction between themselves and their compatriots, now so galling by reason of its continuance for a length of time undreamed of when first they trusted in Jesus. So also would they no more hear the reproach, to which they were increasingly exposed, of

aloofness from the main body of national sentiment at a time of such crisis. If this was the situation about the time of James' death (Passover (?) 62), none seems more likely to have evoked the Epistle to the Hebrews. In this light the epistle, so obscure in its origin and relations, at once becomes alive with meaning. It is an appeal called forth in hot haste from the burning sympathy of one well-known to certain Jewish-Christians, and to whom at a distance had come the startling news of their imminent apostasy. That the crisis was a sudden one is implied by the fact that he writes at all, instead of waiting to be joined by Timothy whose early arrival he expects, and then visiting them in person.

If it be thought that the Epistle in some respects particularizes the circumstances of its readers more than suits a sort of circular letter to the Palestinian churches (perhaps exclusive of Jerusalem, where the church's conditions were largely special to itself), then a primary destination suggests itself easily in connection with the reference to "our brother Timothy." For it is almost certain that Timothy was with Paul during some part at least of his imprisonment in Cæsarea, and would be personally known to the brethren there. On the same assumption, namely that the writer of *Hebrews* had Cæsarea very specially in his mind's eye, we can explain another personal reference which at first sight seems foreign to a Palestinian circle of readers: and that is the greeting from "them of Italy." Whether the author be writing from Italy or not, we are forced to ask, Where in Palestine would the bulk of a com-

munity be sufficiently in touch with Italy to account for greetings from a body of Italian brethren? And the most satisfactory answer is Cæsarea, the chief point of contact with Italy. It was the official seat of Roman government in Palestine, where resided the procurator and his suite, and where was stationed a considerable body of Roman troops, including "the Italian cohort" of which the first full Gentile convert had been a centurion.

Shortly after Ananus had taken the law into his own hands during his high priesthood, which ended with the arrival of Albinus the new procurator (spring (?) 62), Jerusalem was startled by a striking apparition, reminding men of one of the ancient prophets. It was the Feast of Tabernacles, and a season of unwonted peace reigned in Jerusalem. Yet suddenly a wailing voice rang through the city, iterating day and night the same ill-omened dirge: "A voice from the East, a voice from the West, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the sanctuary, a voice against bridegroom and bride, a voice against all the People." Men took it the more to heart that the prophet, a certain Jesus Bar Ananias, was but an unlettered rustic. At last, in vexation, certain of the leading citizens had him seized and scourged. But no syllable fell from him save his wonted cry. Feeling as if there was something superhuman about the thing, the rulers handed him over to the Roman authorities, whose pitiless scourges however could draw from him naught but "Ah, Ah, for Jerusalem." Josephus relates all this with bated breath: and indeed it strikingly illus-

trates the widespread presentiment that critical times were at hand for the Land of Promise.

Touching the four years yet to elapse before the storm burst little need be said. The ferment continued to intensify under Albinus, who "left no form of rascality untried," and his successor Gessius Florus, who "seemed sent to give the executioner's stroke to men already condemned." The latter had been in office little more than a year when a stray spark, as it were, kindled the inflammable material, first locally, and then throughout the length and breadth of Palestine, involving for a time even the whole of Eastern Judaism.

(*b*) *Palestinian Christianity up to* 62 A. D.

The doings of the Jewish Christians after their scattering from Jerusalem before the vigorous persecution occasioned by Stephen's preaching, are involved in much obscurity. The thread of strictly consecutive narrative in Acts really breaks off at this point. What we get hereafter, until the arch-inquisitor Saul finally emerges as an enlarger of the Church's message and the figure around whom the rest of the story centres, is a series of typical episodes put together with less regard to historical than to logical sequence. We have already made some use of them; and the glimpses which they afford of the earliest days of the Palestinian Christians are indeed priceless. Now, however, our object is to see as far as we can into their real sequence, preliminary to the attempt to construct from our scattered

materials some image of later Judæo-Christianity, prior to the war in 66, A. D.

How long the persecution led by Saul may have lasted we have no certain means of judging. Of its severity we have ample evidence, both in the thoroughness of the scattering to which it led, and in the echoes some thirty years after in the Epistle to the Hebrews. There we read of "the former days," in which certain Palestinian Christians, after being "enlightened," "endured a great conflict of sufferings; partly, being made a gazing stock both by abuse and afflictions; and partly, becoming partakers with them that were so used." For they "had compassion on them that were in bonds, and took joyfully the spoiling of their possessions," in the sure hope of "a better possession and an enduring." To which one may add Paul's confession that he had in Jerusalem "shut up many of the saints in prisons" and "voted against them when they were put to death"; also that "in all the synagogues he had by penalties tried to force them to blaspheme" the name of Jesus (Acts xxvi. 10 f.). Among the very earliest results of the wider mission occasioned by this stirring of the Christian nest, was Philip's work among the Samaritans. Indeed this seems to have begun while Saul was yet engaged in pressing his campaign as far as the foreign city of Damascus. Then came his conversion, his withdrawal into Arabia, his mission-work in the synagogues of Damascus, his hair-breadth escape, and his brief visit to Peter in Jerusalem.

One thing of interest we may safely infer from his

own account of that visit, namely that James, the Lord's brother, was already a leading personage in the Church, if not its chief ordinary leader, as contrasted with apostles like Peter and James the son of Zebedee. The Palestinian Church had now entered on a period of quiet and steady progress. It seems to have been the habit of the apostles to make regular mission journeys throughout Palestine, probably dividing the field more or less methodically between them and their fellow-evangelists, both for purposes of first evangelization and of subsequent inspection and consolidation (cf. Acts ix. 32). Quite a number of those associated with the Twelve in such work shared also in the honored title of "Apostle," probably as having been among the more special personal disciples of the Master, seeing that an appearance to "the apostles as a body"—in distinction from the Twelve and the Five Hundred brethren—is recorded by St. Paul. To this body belonged not only Andronicus and Junias (Rom. xvi. 7), but also apparently certain men who later claimed to supersede Paul at Corinth in virtue of a personal and bodily intimacy with Jesus which he could not boast, styling themselves preëminently "apostles" of Christ (2 Cor. xii. 11, cf. xi. 13, 18). "False apostles" is what Paul styles them, in allusion to their having or claiming certain formal marks of "apostolate" without its essential spirit of self-effacing devotion. Among the prerogatives recognized by Paul as belonging to this order, was a claim upon their converts for support, including, if needs be, that of wives accompanying them on their

itinerant labors (1 Cor. ix. 4, 5). Moreover we gather from the same passage that Paul reckoned Barnabas, equally with himself, an "apostle" in the strictest sense of the term (cf. Acts xiv. 4, 14). Whence we may infer that Barnabas had been a personal disciple of Christ, like Joseph Barsabbas and Matthias.

Though certain "apostles" in the larger sense no doubt passed beyond the borders of Palestine at quite an early date, it is probable that the Twelve for long confined themselves to the Holy Land, where the Messianic Kingdom was expected to be manifested in glory. Peter's visit to Antioch, which cannot be earlier than 46 A. D., is the first known instance to the contrary: and it, while hardly an exception, may have remained for some time longer an isolated case. It was the Apostolic labors of Paul and Barnabas which created a new and larger ideal of the possibilities that lay in the Diaspora among the Gentiles. And into this field we may imagine Peter, as usual, foremost in leading the way.

But long ere this came to pass, possibly before Peter's apostolic visitation had brought him, through Lydda and Joppa, to Cornelius and his fellow half-proselytes at Cæsarea—with all the momentous issues of that visit—before all this, certain humbler preachers, from among those scattered by Saul's onslaught, had reached Phœnicia and Cyprus and Antioch. Only gradually perhaps did the Word, in the last of these localities, reach even pure Greeks through the agency of Hellenists of Cyprus and Cyrene. Yet in Antioch such converts became proselytes of

the New Israel without even having been proselytes of the Old. As soon then as this phenomenon attained considerable dimensions, some three or four years from Saul's conversion, say, about 36–37 A. D., Barnabas was despatched from Jerusalem to observe and supervise. He was satisfied, settled down, and worked; a still larger ingathering followed in due course, and the work threatened to overtax the strength of the local leaders. Then it was that, after doing mission work of his own in the region of his native Tarsus, during which he worked in the main among Jews and probably suffered the thirty-nine stripes of the Synagogal jurisdiction more than once, as well as many other dangers and hardships (2 Cor. xi. 24 ff.), the ex-Pharisee Saul entered upon the work in Antioch and its vicinity. The time which elapsed before the arrival of "prophets from Jerusalem," and again until the season came to carry out the scheme of relief planned to meet the famine foretold by Agabus, all this is uncertain. But some two or three years prior to the latter event (46–47, A. D.), the peace of the Saints at Jerusalem was rudely broken by the action of Herod Agrippa I.; who, jealous of the growing influence of the Nazarenes and perhaps egged on by some of the high-priestly aristocracy, suddenly struck down James the son of Zebedee, then a prominent leader. Next, finding the act meet with a good deal of approval, on the eve of the Passover he got Peter within his grasp.

Whatever may hitherto have been the status of

James, the eldest of the four "brethren of the Lord" who stood in a class by themselves on the same level of honor as "apostles" (1 Cor. ix. 5), there is no doubt that after the death of the other James he was regarded as the head of the Jerusalem community. In fact he ranked alongside the chief apostles, Peter and John; and in the eyes of the stricter sort of Jewish believer perhaps he seemed chiefest of them all.[1] It is therefore of great consequence for our estimate of Judæo-Christianity during the rest of his lifetime, namely till 62 A. D., to gain some clear and correct notion of this remarkable man. He was perhaps the most representative Jewish Christian during some eighteen years, the one whom the stricter sort loved to represent as sharing their own views. How far were they justified in such a claim?

Our surest starting point is the testimony of Paul, who, if any one, was likely to have a discriminating judgment in the matter. And the remarkable thing is that he always names him with marked respect and never attributes to him the views of the extremists, even when they claimed to speak as in his name. "Not explicitly," it may be replied, "but surely by implication." The point demands careful examination, and will repay trouble by yielding some distinctions often ignored but of primary import for the understanding of Judæo-Christianity prior to 70, A. D.

Judaism was, as we saw, a religious unity comprising a great variety of schools of thought. It

[1] Note the order in Gal. ii. 9, "James and Cephas and John."

embraced not only Pharisaic Legalists, on the one hand, but also the adherents of Jesus of Nazareth, on the other. In between, there were many gradations, determined mainly by the light in which the Thorah, the revealed Way of God, was regarded. Those who have most impressed the Christian imagination hitherto, by reason of the fact that they stand out in the pages of the New Testament in the fierce light of controversy, were really a minority even of Palestinian Jews. This class of Jew regarded the Thorah in the way natural to professional lawyers, the more scrupulous that the code committed to their jealous care was the code of heaven, not of earth. They were the men whose attitude to the Law is aptly expressed in the words of their spiritual successors, the Rabbis of the Schools of two centuries later, as a "fencing of the Thorah." The great thing was to keep men at a safe distance from forbidden ground, and this by the imposition of additional restrictions, "the tradition of the elders." The Law was not for man, but man for the Law. Thorah was not so much a Way of Life for walking in, as a network of forbidden paths, each guarded from the profane foot by a menacing placard inscribed with the word "Holy" or Inviolable. It was not so much an ideal to fulfil, as something to avoid transgressing. In a word, the Law in their hands became negative and prohibitive in spirit, not positive and attractive. The last thing it could be called was "a law of liberty." It was made an end in itself; and so obedience to it was the prerequisite of a man's coming at all within

the range of God's grace. Their religious idea, therefore, was necessarily exclusive and anti-Gentile in the extreme. Their influence, the moral terrorism they established, leading to partial conformity outside their ranks, was very great. But it is safe to say that even in Jerusalem the strict sort were a minority of the people; much more so outside its immediate environs; while beyond Palestine their ideal was the exception rather than the rule.

Very different from the Pharisaic or Legalist view of the Law was that of those who valued it mainly on its moral rather than its ritual side. Their attitude to God's Law, the sum total of His statutes for the guidance of life in the paths of Justice, Mercy, and Fidelity (Matt. xxiii. 23), was that of Psalmists like the authors of Psalm xix. (7–14), cxix., or of the writers of Proverbs and the other Old Testament literature, canonical and uncanonical, in which God is regarded as wooing men by His wisdom to ways of safety and peace. They understood the Divine Law much as the Prophets had done, to whom God's will was summed up in the maxim "Do justly, love mercy, walk humbly with thy God." In brief, their use of the Thorah was devotional, not legal. Theirs was the Thorah as expounded, not by "the tradition of the Elders," but by the Prophets and the Preachers, men wise in conduct rather than in sacred jurisprudence. This party of the unsophisticated conscience, as we may style it, to whom moral relations to God and man were far more than purity of ritual precision, was large. Not that it was by any means uniform either in the earnestness of its members or in

the things by which they laid most store. Yet in all its sections it had responded in some degree to the appeal of the Baptist for penitence and preparedness of heart against the near Advent of the Messianic Kingdom, as set forth, for instance, in the closing chapters of Malachi.

These distinctions latent even in Palestinian Judaism were brought clearly to light by the preaching of John the Baptist. In men's attitude to this Jesus himself saw an index of their probable attitude to His own Gospel. Now John was in many ways a most loyal Jew, certainly one who enjoyed a high name for saintliness among the people at large. Yet the man who could protest indignantly that God was able of stones to raise up children to Abraham, made but little of the line between physical Jew and Gentile, and presumably of circumcision as the physical condition of God's favor and blessing. Not that he sat lightly to the Mosaic Law as regulating Jewish piety; but he viewed the Law and all Mosaic institutions through the eyes of his teachers, the Prophets. His idea of purity and its opposite was mainly moral through and through. To him the defiling thing was worldliness in its myriad forms; purity lay in renunciation of spirit, to which certain forms of bodily abstinence were valuable aids. If he shared the view that Gentiles were "sinners" and "unclean," he would think mainly of the moral corruption and impurity so rife among idolaters, whose religion was indifferent to morality and brought no light and strength to the conscience.

As we keep these things in mind, fresh light

breaks on the parties and controversies reflected in the pages of Acts. For it is hardly open to question that a large majority of the earliest believers in Jesus as Messiah had shared the Baptist's ways of thinking and feeling, which were quite other than the Pharisaic. And this is eminently true of the Lord's brethren, whose reserve toward their brother's claims was probably due to much the same causes as John's. "The meekness and gentleness of Christ" and His unostentatious methods were an offence to their Messianic ideals, until belief in the resurrection, as God's own seal of approval set upon His Beloved, confirmed His ideal of the Kingdom and opened their eyes to the more gracious and patient side of the prophetic image of the Chosen One. And in this same connection it is instructive to observe how much as a matter of course Apollos and other of John's disciples seem to have passed over to some sort of faith in Messiah Jesus.

We shall be far nearer the truth, then, if we relate the piety of James, as of the Apostles in general, to that which breathes in the *Magnificat* and *Benedictus*, or lives in the pages of Philo and Josephus touching the Essenes, than if we mention it in conjunction with Pharisaic zeal for the Law. Indeed, the Essenic type of Judaism supplies the real analogy in many respects. They were devoted to the ideal of religious purity as zealously as any Pharisee. But they conceived its nature and conditions in another way, distinct from all that could be called strictly national. To them "worship, pure and undefiled," consisted in deeds of charity and life "unspotted from

the world." Nor did they regard it as indissolubly bound up with either of the two great institutions of Judaism, the Temple-worship, and the Law, as expounded by the tradition of the elders. Thus they show how men could be loyal Jews and yet understand the meaning of Life under the Law very differently from the Pharisees. They lived, in whole or in part, aloof from either, falling back, in certain of their usages for ensuring purity of body as well as of soul, upon a sort of Law of Nature, on which the Mosaic usages were assumed to depend. Such a Law it was that most Jews, especially in the Dispersion, probably discerned in the so-called Noachic covenant (cf. Gen. ix. 1–17)—or what at this period corresponded thereto—and on the broad lines of which the Jerusalem Concordat as a matter of fact proceeded. We may safely assume, then, that James, whose piety was akin to Peter's, in reading the Law through the Prophets—as he does explicitly in his words at the Jerusalem conference—simply desired that Gentiles should give guarantees against their typical sins of Idolatry and Impurity, understood in the large sense ingrained in Jewish sentiment and based in part on pre-Mosaic prescription. The last sacred mystery, Life, seemed to be involved in men's attitude to blood, the life-principle, and to the sexual relation, which lies at the very springs of life. It is true that the Christian consciousness has come to distinguish sharply between human and animal life-blood; and so would apply the underlying principle somewhat differently. Otherwise it supports the sentiment of James' Concordat; indeed in so doing it has often

been content to lose converts on the mission field. Much more so might there seem, even to Jews liberal as regards circumcision (carrying obligation to the whole Law on the same level with born Jews), to be grave need for guarding against an incompatibility between faith and conduct arising in a moral atmosphere like that of Syria in the first century. And the case becomes yet clearer, if they had already in mind the cases in which Jews and Gentiles were brought together in the intimate social intercourse of sacred meals, right to partake of which depended on Christian baptism, and that alone.

Now, we saw reason to believe that Peter's vacillation at Antioch on the point of full Gentile equality in this regard, preceded and did not follow the Jerusalem Concordat. We are the freer, then, to give full force to the fact that Paul makes Peter's drawing back from his own instinctive line of conduct coincide with the arrival of "certain from James"; and yet to deny that James really belonged to "the party of circumcision," any more than did Peter. As we read his attitude, it was this. He heard what was going on at Antioch. He felt that Peter's action might be right in point of fact, as in the case of Cornelius, where the Gentiles were men of what he esteemed "pure" life. But he knew of no guarantees that this was the case, and therefore he had no satisfactory basis on which to defend the action, as a precedent, to those about him in Jerusalem who might challenge it. He wished, therefore, to remind Peter, whose impulsiveness would be well known to him, of the need of considering the principles in-

volved in his action. It is more than likely that the envoys included some of Pharisaic antecedents, and that these outran the spirit of their commission. But from the fact that both Peter and Barnabas felt they had gone further than they could as yet justify on principle, one may infer that there was no difference in principle between themselves and James. It was, in a sense, a point of expediency, one determined by the two moral traditions, the two standards of conscience, of men already recognized as standing on one and the same Messianic foundation. And they needed further reflection to see their way out of the difficulty theoretically.

To Paul, on the other hand, things would shape themselves quite otherwise. He had, in the first place, a far more vivid sense of the change in principle involved in laying aside all thought of *justification* by the Law, which was the current notion of Judaism. He saw things, that is, as one who had trusted fully to the Law for righteousness and had felt it give way under him: he saw as the ex-Pharisee. And this is the aspect which he enforces in his reproof of Peter. But further, as regards expediency even, he realized the interests of Christianity outside Palestine no less than those within it. And from this standpoint, a formal dualism in Christianity, wherever Jew and Gentile believers lived side by side (but as if on different levels of religious purity), would simply be intolerable. It would be an object-lesson tacitly declaring to all men that there still existed a "middle-wall of partition" between Jew and Gentile, that is between circumcised and

uncircumcised, even though circumcision and the Thorah as such were no longer held indispensable to union with the Christ. This was in effect so flat a negation of the sole sufficiency of Christ to salvation—in which the elder apostles had concurred in conference with him and Barnabas at Jerusalem—that it could not be admitted for a moment on Gentile soil. There, at any rate, Palestinian sensibilities could not rightly prevail. And so he opposed the policy with all his energy of clear conviction; and we can hardly question, with success. But we cannot infer that he considered James, any more than Peter (whom he rebuked to his face), a theoretic Judaizer, but only as lacking in consistent perception of all the bearings of what they both alike admitted.[1] And with this agree all his other references to James. He nowhere suggests that James really differed from Peter, though he may have been more cautious than his impulsive colleague. From both of them, at every stage, he distinguishes the semi-Pharisaic party of circumcision, who were wont to use both names equally as it suited their purpose, to give fictitious weight to their own Judaizing policy.

With the history of these only semi-Christian Judaizers, whether in the earlier Apostolic Age or in the later, when they crystallized into churches separated from the life of the Church as a whole and became known as Ebionites, we need not concern our-

[1] It must be remembered that in Gal. ii. Paul is referring to this episode only in one special aspect, that of his own independence. That only was *ad rem*. We fall into unreality when we forget, in using Paul's letters for historic purposes, that their author never edited them as materials for writing history.

selves further. They had little of the new principle of life in them and soon dwindled into comparative insignificance, contributing nothing permanent to the history of the Christian Church. And when we look closely into the narrative in Acts, we see that they came in only at a second stage of the Church's growth. There is no likelihood that they were part of the original community that gathered round the personal disciples and brethren of the Lord in the early days of strain and stress. They only begin to appear after the persecution under Saul has quite blown over, and after the scare to strict Legalists occasioned by Stephen's bold prophetic preaching has been so far effaced by the dutifully Jewish lives of the Judæan Christians. Indeed the first hint of the presence of such men among the Christians occurs about the time when the Gospel was already spreading beyond Palestine (Acts xi. 2, 19 ff.).

We have, therefore, found no reason to believe that the Galilean James was more attached to the Law as esteemed by men who regarded the "tradition of the elders," than was Peter or even, for that matter, his greater Brother.

That James was more Jewish than Peter in the manner of his piety we can believe, especially in view of his subsequent reputation among both Jews and Ebionitic Christians. But this is amply explained by supposing him to have adhered closely to the piety created or deepened in him by the Baptist. In Peter, on the other hand, such an ideal had been modified by close discipleship of the less ascetic, the more broadly human Son of

Man, whose image, indelibly traced on his inmost soul, controlled his instincts and practice far beyond the point to which his intellect reflectively penetrated. Supposing, then, that James lived much as one under a permanent Nazirite vow, we suppose all that our sources demand: and we may picture him as therein highly representative of Palestinian Christians. But we are no nearer making James a legalist or a Judaizer in relation to Gentiles.[1] Nor have we any reason to believe that the latter type, whose principle was "through circumcision to Christ," had any representative within the inner apostolic circle. And so we can well understand the strong language of St. Paul, when he styles their leaders, when we catch our first sure glimpse of them, "interloping pseudo-brethren."

In trying to imagine the Christian outlook of a man like James, we naturally ask, What attitude would he, as a believer in Jesus as Messiah, assume to unbelieving Israel? On this there can be little doubt. He and the other Palestinian leaders seem never to have given up all expectation that Israel as a people—not the more worldly types, but the mass of middle-class Israel, and of course the humbler folk —would pass over into the New Covenant-relation with God mediated by Jesus, the Messiah, and so claim their share in the Messianic Kingdom soon to be revealed in glory at the Parousia or Return of the Exalted Saviour and Judge. This is the mean-

[1] Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel, a younger contemporary of James, said: "On three things the world stands; on Judgment, and on Truth, and on Peace" (*id.* i. 19). Such sayings should warn us against too rigid notions of Jewish ideals of God's Law.

ing of the way, strange and beside the mark to us, in which Peter addresses his countrymen in the early chapters of Acts.

"Take ye refuge from this generation, this crooked generation." "Repent then, and turn again, unto the blotting out of your sins; that so may come seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord and He may send the Christ appointed for you, even Jesus; whom heaven must needs receive until the times of the restoration of all things whereof God spake by the mouth of His holy prophets since the world began. . . . Ye are the sons of the prophets and of the covenant with Abraham (of world-wide blessing, through his seed). . . . To you in the first instance, God, having raised up His Servant (as Prophet greater than Moses, v. 22) sent Him to bless you (by His first advent) in turning away every one from his sins. . . . Whom ye (addressing the rulers) did to death, hanging Him on a tree. Him God exalted with His right hand as Prince and Saviour, to give repentance to Israel and remission of sins. And we, here, are witnesses of these things, as also the Holy Spirit given of God (as token of the Messianic era, according to Joel ii. 28 ff.) to those who yield to His rule."

Such a series of passages[1] has this special significance in the present connection, that the attitude to Israel therein implied, must have been that still common among Jewish Christians when the narrative on which Luke here draws was set down in writing and circulated among believers for edification. This being so, we are entitled to use it as evidence for the outlook and attitude of James about 44–50 A. D. And it teaches us that he would naturally view Israel, as a whole, much as an Old Testament prophet viewed his people, in spite of their mixed condition of receptivity. He would think of Israel

[1] Acts ii. 40, iii. 19–21, 26, v. 30–32.

as such as the proper object of his ministry, hoping against hope that the obdurate majority would finally yield obedience to a message that was the special birthright of all Abraham's seed.

Thus we seem to have won a position from which we are entitled to use the encyclical Epistle of James not only as a work of the Lord's brother, but also as a document that fits into a sad gap in our knowledge. Of the existence of a liberal Palestinian Christianity we are aware from other sources, for instance in the person of Peter. But we have, apart from the epistle in question, no literary monument of it. It is most natural that this circle, standing in close relation to the Hellenistic or Judæo-Greek Christianity of Syria and the adjacent regions, should have produced something in writing and that it should have been preserved. The alternative theories, which neglect this clue, seem only to confirm it by their mutual opposition. The one, while recognizing its close affinities with a certain side of Judaism, the 'Wisdom' type seen in the *Wisdom of Solomon* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* for instance, makes it originally a purely Jewish work, afterward readapted.[1] The other regards it as a Christian homily dating from the close of the first century or even later, which became transformed into an Epistle general and assigned to James. On this view the absence of more obvious Christian traits is even harder to explain. In fact the theories tend to

[1] Supposing the references to Christ in i. 1, ii. 1, to be later touches to commend it to Christian readers. But would an editor, with this object in view, have stopped short at these?

cancel each other; while the authorship claimed in the opening address combines their positive advantages, when once we get beyond the bald notion of Palestinian Judaism as simply Pharisaism.

Accordingly we imagine James, probably not long after the death of his namesake, the son of Zebedee (early in 44 A. D.), taking in hand to address a sort of prophetic pastoral (for the idea of which there are analogies in the Apocrypha) to "the sons of the prophets and of the Covenant" scattered amid aliens outside the Holy Land. Nor would he have to write quite vaguely or in the air. The constant flow of pilgrims to Jerusalem, especially to the great Feasts, would make him familiar with the actual conditions of life and the besetting sins of his brethren of the Dispersion; and there would be sufficient similarity of conditions in Jewish communities everywhere to make his own experience in Palestine a fair point of departure. He writes then in semi-prophetic strain, continuing, on a higher level and with clearer light, the appeal of the Baptist. John had been forerunner of the Kingdom ere Messiah had appeared. Now Messiah had come, and had made the nature of the Kingdom and the conditions of entrance more evident. And so James strives to prepare the way of the returning Lord, first and foremost among His professed disciples, but also in Judaism at large. For was He not, even then, "standing before the doors" as Judge? Oh, that it might be not unto "wrath," but unto Salvation for the People of the Promises! Nor was there any reason why James should despair of getting a measure

of attention from even non-Christian Jews. The "sect of the Nazarenes" was not at once viewed as more than an eccentric school of Judaism. Accordingly one of its prophets, a man with a high reputation for sanctity of an ascetic order and unmistakably full of prophetic passion, might well seem to speak to Israelites in the name of God.

It was then, quite worth his while to issue such an appeal, especially where it might be a final appeal to his people, on the eve of what was on all hands felt to be imminent crisis in Israel's history. With the death of Herod Agrippa, in 44, the shadow of a native kingship had disappeared; and the renewal of government by Roman procurators became the signal for patriotic risings under Theudas and the sons of Judas of Galilee, just as the first introduction of the system had been marked by the revolt of this Judas about 7 A. D. (cf. Acts v. 37). A severe famine, recognized as one of the "signs" or "throes" to precede the establishment of the Messianic Kingdom, clouded Palestine about 46–47; and it may be that we have hints in the Epistle of the experiences of this very season of special trial, in the marked stress on the subject of a distressed peasantry. To James the very parallelism of the social phenomena which he stigmatizes, to those described in Malachi iii. 5, 15, iv. 1–3, (*e. g.*, the oppression of "the hireling in his wages" and forgetfulness of "the Lord of Sabaoth") would be enough to indicate "the last days." The days were in every respect dark days, with no prospect of betterment but only of aggravation. We have, then, an excellent situation for the Epistle of

James, if we imagine it sent forth with believing Jews as they returned from the Passover any time between 44 and 49 A. D. Later than 49 it can hardly be, if it was in 49 that the question of the Gentile's position in the New Israel was definitely raised and decided (for the churches in which it had so far arisen) by a collective epistle of the Jerusalem authorities. At an earlier date, however, believing Gentiles could still be ignored as simply a handful adhering to the skirts of the true Israel within Israel.

Antioch indeed stood out, even by 44 A. D., as a notable exception. But the work there was not at first regarded as the beginning of a rapid and far-reaching change. Any seeming anomalies involved in the largely Gentile character of this offshoot of the Palestinian *Ecclesia*, would disappear at the coming of the Lord to administer His own Kingdom. And was He not already at the doors? To men in such an attitude everything would bear quite a provisional aspect. And this explains anything in the policy of the Jerusalem leaders that from our standpoint seems lacking in logical consistency.

(*c*) *The Epistle of James* (c. 44–49 A. D.)

In writing his epistle James did not start *de novo*. He was entering, as the bulk of his matter shows, into an already existing tradition dating from the "wisdom of Jesus, the son of Sirach," commonly known as *Ecclesiasticus*. The more one studies the earlier chapters of this work the more one feels its influence, along with that of the book of *Wisdom*.

Like the son of Sirach, who has saturated himself with the ethical parts of the Old Testament, James gathers up the "wisdom" for life of Israel's true heritage, now perfected in the Sermon on the Mount, and reissues it for the guidance of much tried brethren. The prevalent experience of the Jewish Christians among the Diaspora was one of constant trial. They were under severe pressure arising from the enmity of their neighbors, especially the rich and powerful. Hence the epistle's chief aim is to confirm them in loyalty to the ideal of life prescribed by the "wisdom" which is God's own sovereign gift (Ecclus. i. 10, 26) to steadfast faith, and especially in a patient endurance. By gladly accepting all trials as God's appointed means of training, through patience, unto perfection, they will escape all danger of backsliding or apostasy.[1] But if this were to be so, they must give no heed to any fatalistic suggestion as to the irresistibility of any temptation to evil.

If sin result, it is due to one's own unchastened desire. The will and nature of the "Father of Lights" (a phrase in which the God of Nature and the God of Grace are identified) is revealed in His having brought believers to a new spiritual birth by His "word of truth." Let them brace their moral nature with these reflections and rejoice in their very trials.

Persecution is next seen to be due largely to a prime evil of Jewish Society, the cleavage between rich and

[1] The line of thought is suggested by Ecclus. ii. 1, ff., and later reappears in Hebrews, esp. xii. 1–13; cf. ii. 10, 18, v. 7–9.

poor. This had long colored the religious thought and language of Israel, notably in certain Psalms and in the extra-canonical literature. "The poor" and "the rich," by an easy passage of the mind to the temper promoted by either condition—in the one humility and resignation, in the other pride and self-sufficiency —had come to be working synonyms for the godly and the worldly. This view characterized precisely those circles of the "Quiet in the Land"—the patient, much put-upon, simple folk—in which the Gospel found its readiest adherents. Never were the ideals of the best section of the Am-ha-aretz, "the people" of all ages, more finally enshrined in words than in the *Magnificat*. To most of the Jewish Christians the music of the Gospel was the invitation to them that "labor and are heavy laden" to find rest in a yoke that was easy and a burden that was light; to accept the Lordship of One "meek and lowly in heart," under whom the soul could find the rest of a congenial service. To them His service was indeed "perfect freedom," in contrast to the yoke imposed by Legalists, and His "royal Law" a Law of Liberty. For it was a Law that had in it a spirit which they could understand and respond to, the law of Love. But to two types, at the opposite pole from the humble poor, this Messianic Rule brought no relief, but only offence. These were "the wise and prudent," contrasted with the lowly in the passage just cited, and the rich and proud, reference to whom in the Gospels is not lacking (*e. g.*, Dives and Lazarus), but who meet us in James' epistle in unparalleled distinctness. In Pal-

estine the former had its climax in the Pharisees; the latter in the Sadducaic aristocracy and the leading Pharisees of the capital in particular. Among the Diaspora we cannot picture them so clearly; but there must have been analogous classes; the type of Jew argued against in Rom. ii., iii., is clearly of the self-complacently "wise" type.

By both these types James' spirit had been deeply stirred, and most of all by their combination in certain cases. Against the heartless and worldly-minded "rich," grinding the face of the poor who reaped their fields and otherwise produced their wealth, battening themselves in the dark and serious days of their nation's destinies, his anger breaks forth in the old prophetic strain. As his message to his compatriots, through the believing among them, draws to a close, he rises into denunciation and warning in the spirit and power of a Malachi, from whom he seems to derive part of his inspiration (iv. 13–v. 6). Here those in view are purse-proud Israelites, marked by the overweening spirit of "the men of this world" held in such abomination by the Psalmist, and against whom Jehovah's face was ever most sternly set. They had added to their defiant attitude toward the Almighty—as if their own Providence (cf. Ecclus. v. 1–3, for the type)—the blood of "the righteous," the humble disciple of Jesus, who meekly and unresistingly bent his neck to the stroke (v. 6). Over such men, the wrath of the Lord of Sabaoth was hanging like a black cloud, just about to break in desolating might.

But there was another type of mixed worldliness

and zeal for the Law, standing nearer the borders of the lowly brotherhood, and occupying much of James' attention. He bids such an one glory "in that he is made lowly" in spirit and associations. For the proud flowers of earth are to be blasted by God's "Scorching Wind" that will soon sweep over its plains. To his eye the men of worldly position are in deadly danger, the danger of spiritual adultery, that disloyalty to Heavenly Love on which the ancient prophets dwelt with such poignant power. To such he cries,[1] "Know ye not that the world's friendship means God's enmity?" Here is the essence of James' religious idea. To be "unspotted from the world," this and nothing else is true piety. Nothing so smirches with the world's spotting as selfishness, which lies at the root of the love of money—that "root of all the evils." Its conqueror and antidote is also one, Love. Loving God is the secret of "the crown of life" and the Kingdom that are in God's gift; and loving one's neighbor is the manifestation of this same love. Hence the high ritual of religion is to "tend the orphan and widow in their affliction," and so escape all spot of worldly self-love.

Even among would-be disciples, men ready to say "Lord, Lord," James knew of men whose bickerings and contentions showed the evil root from which their life was really growing, even the love of self-indulgence, of the "pleasures that war in the

[1] Ch. iv. 4; cf. Matt. vi. 24; Luke xvi. 9, 13, "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon"; where the moral is "make to yourselves friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness."

members." And when desire lacked other outlet, it led to envy of others, and then to actual strife. Such adulterous souls he solemnly reminds of God's jealous yearning after the spirit which He has caused to dwell in man (cf. Num. xvi. 22), and touching God's readiness to give more grace, to meet new-found infirmity. Safety lies in yet deeper submission to God's gracious will. Double-faced souls, with one side turned to God, the other to their pleasures, are simply sinners whose hands need cleansing from the lie that is therein, and whose hearts need a true consecration.[1] Short of this, they are heritors not of the Beatitudes but of the Woes that match them in one version of the Divine Sermon.[2] True exaltation cometh only from God, and the path lies through self-humbling. Nor is such humility compatible with the censorious spirit, which takes on itself to criticise the Law as it lives in a brother's conscience.[3] In so doing a man leaves his proper station as a simple doer of Law, and mounts the Judge's tribunal, an act resented by the sole Lawgiver and Judge. On the other hand, "to him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him attaches sin." Accordingly James devotes much of his letter to bring-

[1] In James, as in the Sermon (Matt. v. 8, vi. 22, ff.), *purity* of heart is the same as *singleness* of eye.

[2] With v. 9, compare Luke vi. 25, "Woe, ye that laugh now, for ye shall mourn and weep."

[3] Such seems the sense in which James takes words like Matt. vii. 1 f.; Luke vi. 37 f. He feels with Paul that different ideals of God's will are possible among His true servants (Rom. xiv. 3–6, 10–12, 13, 22). So Hillel (*Pirqe Aboth*, ii. 5) used to say: "Judge not thy friend until thou comest into his place."

ing out the vanity of mere self-complacent acquiescence in God's Law, mere faith in an objective body of Divine Truth, "the faith." This, stultified by alien conduct, jealousy for instance, is but "lying against the truth."

Again and again he returns to this theme from different sides. His tone toward those prone to mere hearing of the Word, without genuine reception of it into the heart as an "inbred word" leading to kindred actions—as a germinating seed has its due issue in fruit—corresponds exactly to Christ's controversy with Pharisaism. They approved the right theory of life as zealously as any; but they got no further. The Jews whom James has in view as tainted with the "leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy," had accepted the Sermon on the Mount as an authoritative exposition of the real meaning of the Law, and admitted in theory the prophetic view that "justice and mercy and faith" (*i. e.*, humble trust in God) far outweighed all ritual matters. So far, so good. But here a fatal habit of mind came in and spoiled all; the absence of a living conscience, that necessity of making actions conform to convictions. There was a missing link in their moral system; the two spheres of belief and conduct revolved round their respective axes independently. This was the heartbreaking sight that often shocked the soul of James, even among those who were called by "the fair Name" of Jesus the Christ.[1] And so he

[1] The Master's words, "And why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things that I say" (Luke vi. 46; cf. Matt. vii. 21), were constantly being verified in the Church's experience.

breaks off his high meditation on God's fatherly nature, with the words: "Yes, ye are aware of all this, my brethren beloved." But what does it all come to in our daily lives? Little patient hearing, much hasty speech, not a little hot passion, to the hindrance of the righteousness loved of God. Let them stay the overflow of a foul and malicious tongue, and quietly obey. Let them be doers, not only hearers. Let, then, every aspirant to the title "religious" begin by this simple test, quietness of spirit. He need go no further for the present. For he that bridleth not his own proud tongue, "that man's 'religion' is vain." And another test there is, like to the former, viz, loving-kindness to those in trouble and need,[1] the best antidote to worldliness—that great defiler.

In these ways may selfhood be exorcized. But it has many disguises. Thus to profess the faith of the meek Lord of Glory, and yet to pay respect to men's outward estate, is a glaring inconsistency. James had seen or heard of cases like this. The brethren are assembled for worship after Jewish fashion; a grand *seigneur* enters in all his glory, and at the same moment a poor man in squalid attire. What happens? Just what happened in a synagogue where no Christians were present; namely obsequious courtesy to the distinguished visitor, degrading patronage of the obscure one.

[1] So *Ecclus.* iv. 10: "Be as a father to the fatherless, and in place of a husband to their mother: so shalt thou be as a son of the Most High, and He shall love thee more than thy mother doth": also vii. 34, xxxv. 14 f.

Yet the former was one of the class (in Judæa the Sadducaic aristocracy in particular) that lorded it roughly over the brethren, nay even dragged them into the law-courts and was wont to revile "the fair Name" of their Lord. Whereas it was for the latter, as a class, that the Almighty Himself had marked His preference, as "rich in faith and heirs of the Kingdom which He promised to them that love Him."[1] Partiality, then, was simply sin; and the men who showed it were convicted as mere transgressors of the very Law for which they professed such zeal. For was it not a maxim of the lawyers themselves, that the breach of a single precept violated the Law in all its parts. Let them take heed, then; for they too had to pass muster with Messiah's Law; and though it was a Law of Liberty, of the spirit and not of the letter, it was none the less exigent for that.[2] Only to the "merciful" would it prove itself merciful. Mercy alone can turn the edge of Judgment.

At this point James imagines the man of orthodox belief but disobedient life turning to defend himself, with the plea that there is more than one way of pleasing God. One, he urges, is strong in "faith," another in "works." Let each cultivate his own talent, without insisting that his neighbor should possess it likewise, on the principle of "Live and let live." In reply James first brings the matter to the

[1] "They that love Him" is a favorite phrase with *Ecclus. e. g.*, ii. 15 f.; cf. iv. 10.

[2] How close is the teaching of James ii. 8–12 to the Sermon as found in Matt. v. 17, 20, vii. 12–14, 24, particularly to the Golden Rule, declared to be the sum of the Law and the Prophets (vi. 12; cf. Luke vi. 31).

test of a homely, practical case, one affecting human well-being. Will the pious wish that a brother "go in peace and get warmed and fed," apart from any effort to fulfil the wish, profit the needy one? And how will a faith that consists simply in assent to excellent propositions or truths, without passing over into kindred action, profit any one a whit the more? Such faith, in its barren isolation, is a dead thing. It is no matter of alternatives. The question is not whether "faith" or "works" alone can save, but whether an unfruitful or dead faith is worthy the name at all. And the only way in which faith can be *proved* to be living, that is religious faith, is in manifesting its life by action.[1] No man, in fact, can *show* his faith save by works. To assent to the creed, "there is one God," carries of itself no assurance of salvation. For it is a belief shared by demons, to whom it brings not comfort but shuddering horror. Faith divorced from works is barren. Not such was Abraham's faith; not such even Rahab's. In each, belief in the promises of God impelled to deeds, and thereby attained its full realization or perfection. So then, "just as the body devoid of breath is dead, even so faith devoid of deeds is dead also."

It is strange that any should see in this line of thought a criticism of the Pauline doctrine of faith in one form or another. Not only is there no hint of anything connected with Christ or His Work in

[1] "Even so let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works and glorify your Father which is in heaven," Matt. v. 16; cf. 13 ff.

the faith in question: but the final simile alone, if duly heeded, should have made the idea impossible. For here faith is represented not as something inner or emotional, a state of soul, however ephemeral—in a word, as something only too subjective; but as something rigid and inertly objective, needing above all things a little soul to make it count for anything among forces that live and move. Could Pauline "Solifidianism" be, by any stretch of caricature, mistaken for such unemotional, impersonal orthodoxy—a dead "body" of divinity, as it were? Reliance upon such, "the faith," stands at the opposite pole of religious experience from Pauline Anti-nomianism, and is the worst anti-nomianism of all. It is the apotheosis of a theology "once for all committed" to the intellect, the abuse of rigid objectivity, not of free subjectivity. Its true historical significance lies in the proof it affords of the deep root which the moral side of Pharisaism, as religious externalism devoid of moral content, had struck in the soil of Judaism not only in Palestine but also among the Diaspora outside. It is exactly this phenomenon that Paul has in mind in Romans ii.-iii.,[1] when arguing against the salvation of Jews more or less as matter of course, all because they had already a higher knowledge of things divine within their

[1] "If thou bearest the name of Jew, and restest upon Law, and gloriest in God, and knowest the Will, and approvest things excellent, being instructed out of the Law, and art confident that thou thyself art a guide of the blind . . . a schoolmaster of dullards . . . having in the Law the outline form of knowledge and of the truth; thou, then, that teachest another, teachest thou not thyself?

reach, in the glorious Thorah. Paul and James agree in insisting, each in his own way, that "not the hearer of a Law but the doer is justified"; that *the faith*, whether of Judaism or of its Messiah, serves but as an enhanced standard of Judgment, apart from a living faith which unites to God and must work of love's necessity.

The same lesson, the need of moral fruitage accordant to profession, is next enforced on those who by undertaking the higher responsibilities, as teachers of others, become liable to the severer standard of judgment. The ambition to enjoy the status of a Rabbi was native to the Jew. The sense of self-importance which it brought, the deferential "salutations in the market-places," these as well as its more legitimate ambitions made men anxious to become Rabbis. The emphasis with which Christ's warnings to shun all titles of distinction are recorded in the Gospels, is ample witness that they were felt to be needed in the later days when the tradition of His Words was taking shape by a process of natural selection. James knew that there was a divine gift (*charism*) of special wisdom entrusted to some for the good of all. But he saw that much "teaching" was due, not to this, but to the self-assertive impulse, the desire to rank among the Wise,[1] a recognized order in later Judaism. And so he dissuades too

[1] Jas. iii. 13, echoes the very phrase of Matt. xi. 25. The better sense of the term, as represented among Christ's followers, appears in Matt. xxiii. 34, "prophets, and wise men, and scribes." Abtalion, a great Rabbi two generations before James' day, is credited with saying: "Ye Wise, be guarded in your words; perchance ye may incur the debt of exile (judgment)."

ready entrance upon what was a very slippery path. For observation of the native failings of his race and age had convinced him that the tongue was the hardest member of all to tame. He who had here obtained the mastery was not likely to be caught tripping elsewhere (Ecclus. v. 13). He was a perfected character, a true saint. It was to James shocking that the same member should express, now hate to man, and now love to God, the Father of all. It violated a fundamental law of nature and of Grace: like root, like fruit.[1] So jealousy and party-spirit robbed a teacher's "wisdom" of all right to be traced to a heavenly origin. It was from below, the sphere of animal passion and demonic self-love, and could breed only what was bad. For "the wisdom that is from above is first pure (single-hearted), then peaceable, gently reasonable, open to persuasion, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, without hypocrisy. And the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace for them that make peace." Let, then, the truly "wise and prudent" man show by "the fair flower of a blameless life" that his is the meek-eyed wisdom[2] that is of God.

James sees to the full the dangers involved in the office of a public teacher, and discourages the many from attempting it. On the other hand, nowhere else even in the New Testament do we find a wider private or fraternal ministry, and that of the most

[1] The parallelism of Jas. iii. 11, 12, and Matt. vii. 16, Luke vi. 44, is very marked.

[2] James exactly catches the spirit of Christ's "little child" as type of the Christian temper (Matt. xviii. 1–4).

spiritual order, commended to all believers as such. The brethren are referred to each other's love for the unbosoming of the sins that lie heavy on the conscience: and the sovereign remedy suggested in such cases is the intercessory prayer of brother for brother. Apparently the sins specially contemplated are those assumed to lie at the root of chastening sickness. For there follows specific provision for the sick, who are entitled to call to their bedside "the elders of the Church," for healing treatment and prayer with a view to healing of body and soul (if the latter be involved) at the Lord's hands;[1] and the object of the less formal prayer of brethren for each other is also described by the words, "that ye may be healed." We have already seen how James deprecates other abuses of the tongue. But we are startled by the emphasis with which he forbids swearing as tending to sap the habit of perfect sincerity in speech. "But above all things, my brethren," he pleads, "swear not, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other oath: but let your Yea be Yea, and your Nay, Nay; lest ye incur judgment." The emphasis not only of the Gospels but also of Essenism is the same; and in these early days there was a constant tendency, whenever discipleship began to fail in freshness,

[1] The whole passage is well illustrated by *Ecclus.* xxxviii. 9–15: "My son, in thy sickness be not negligent; but pray unto the Lord, and He shall heal thee. Put away wrongdoing, and order thine hands aright, and cleanse thy heart from all manner of sin. . . . Then give place to the physician, for verily the Lord hath created him. . . . For they (physicians) also shall beseech the Lord, that He may prosper them in relief and in healing."

to relapse into the glib use of sacred asseverations that marked current Judaism, as it marks Syria today.

In looking back, then, on the tone and tenor of the Epistle as already analyzed, one cannot but be struck by the wonderful fulness with which it echoes "the meekness and gentle reasonableness of the Christ," the chief aspect in which even Paul sets Him before his converts for imitation. This seems to have been the aspect of Jesus the Messiah which left the deepest impress on the imagination of the inner Apostolic circle. And the completeness with which this Jesus of Nazareth possesses James' whole being should only become the more impressive to us, that he says so little about Him in His official aspect as the Messiah. We feel that he has his eye ever on his Holy Brother as he writes, even though he so strangely refrains from clinching the force of any one of his exhortations with a pointed reference—such as we have in Peter and Paul, as also in *Hebrews*—to the Perfect Exemplar, from whom he himself has learned the secret how to attain. It is surely a mistake to represent the writer of this Epistle as showing "no trace of the influence of the Master's wonderful personality." He shows every trace of that personality, as a personality moulding and fashioning his ideals. To put it broadly: Christ is nowhere explicitly, but He is everywhere implicitly. He is the atmosphere of the writer's mind, and determines his idea of the Law. And so he gives us not teaching about Christ, but rather Christ's teaching. His silence as to the source of his own inspiration is

largely explained by the circle of readers or rather hearers contemplated, which embraced non-believing Jews. But, whatever its cause, it does not really affect the question of authorship. Our author's piety belongs at once to the Old and to the New Testament; is that of a man who had approached the Gospel from the side of Judaism that lay nearest to it. For that very reason he had (unlike Saul) experienced little or no disillusioning, but only a brightening to the perfect day; and had realized no need to detach himself from Jewish forms of thought and speech. The Gospel was the Law sublimated into a "Law of Liberty." It was conceived as applied Love, whether to a Fatherly God or to all men, as "made after the likeness of God." Hence the Law is at once Jewish and Christian, and could be enforced on both alike, with no attempt to differentiate the two in the appeal made. The writer has the ideal Law in view and it only. And so the search after "distinctive" Christian notes in his epistle is misplaced. The "dutiful life" (ἔννομος βίωσις) of Ecclesiasticus, the life of chastened wisdom, was the ideal alike of the Gospel and of Judaism at its best: and the Law of God's will was the means to that end.[1]

Just such a man was James, the Lord's brother, as we have every right to imagine him. Not his the Jesuit spirit of rigid code; nor even the Dominican, with its undue reliance on the *Credo* of orthodoxy; but rather that of the Saint of Assisi, with his humane regard for man as brother by nature, a

[1] "For the fear of the Lord is wisdom and instruction (παιδεία): and in faith and meekness is His good pleasure," *Ecclus.* i. 27.

"nature" that has ever in it the hand of God. Indeed a modern mind could hardly realize to itself James' ideal of the religious man more truly and vividly, than by thinking of the genuine image of the great *Poverello*, as it disengages itself, under the hands of a Sabatier, from legendary mists, and stands out convincing in its bold realism and winsome in its loving unworldliness. The parallel is not only suggestive; it is also illuminative. For as we feel how little the artificial forms of the mediæval religious manner could fetter the love of the original Franciscan "religion," we perceive how little it matters to the religion of James, Saint of the Lowly, that it wore the garb of Nazirite purity in the middle of the first century. Yet James was capable also of fulminating against proud sin like a very Savonarola, in the spirit and power of the older prophecy. And as the prophets had generally cast their glance to the Day of the Lord, that great unveiling of all now obscure, that final redressing of all the anomalies of earth—a manner of thought that came home also to Savonarola in his age of anomalies—so James too, ere he ends, says his word on this solemn subject, never absent from the thoughts of the first Christian generation. His object in introducing it is a practical one. As the patient husbandman is content to wait for his harvest-home until the appointed intervening seasons have done their work; so must the Christian exercise long-suffering patience. But let him brace his heart with the thought that his Lord's Coming is now quite nigh. "The Judge is standing before the doors." And let this thought also still all mur-

mur against the happier lot of certain brethren. As models of the spirit of patience under suffering, let them take the Prophets and the much-enduring Job. In these examples, and indeed in his whole handling of the subject, it is striking how James for the first time fails to recall the relevant passages in the Gospels, but merely presupposes the general notion of an imminent Parousia, and this on lines continuous with the Prophets rather than the Evangelists.

(*d*) *The Syrian "Two Ways."*

We have made so close a study of James' epistle because it is the keystone of our interpretation of Jewish Christianity anterior to the fall of the Jewish State. The word keystone is used advisedly. For this epistle is too obscure in its original relations to be a fit basis for historic construction. But if it fits into such a construction, raised in relative independence, it adds strength and symmetry to the whole. And we hope now to be able to exhibit the coherence between this epistle and certain other Judæo-Christian writings, in such a way as to justify the view taken of it and of Judæo-Christianity prior to the death of James. The chief writings in question are, the older parts of the so-called *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, recovered and published some fifteen years ago by Bryennios, a learned Greek ecclesiastic; certain secondary elements in the Synoptic Gospels—that is, features due to the conditions and ideals of the Christian circles in which the traditions of Christ's earthly ministry took their present shapes; the Epistle to the Hebrews, on that side of it which

reflects the readers' ideas and usages, rather than what is more personal to the writer; and, finally, the First Epistle of Peter, written from Rome shortly before the Neronian outbreak of 64 A. D. Nor in using these documents need we be much hampered by the feeling that their exact dates are open to some doubt. For the wonderful fixity of type in Oriental life and society enables us to bring them together with but little hesitation, once we are satisfied that they represent much the same type of Christianity.

We begin, then, with the older parts of the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," usually called the *Didaché*.[1] It opens thus:

"There are two Ways, one of Life, and one of Death; and there is a great difference between the two ways. The Way of Life is this: Firstly, thou shalt love the God *that made thee*. Secondly, thy neighbor as thyself: and all things whatsoever thou wouldest *not* have happen to thyself, neither do thou to another. Now of these sayings the explanatory Teaching (*Didaché*) is as follows."

We need go no further to gather one or two things of some importance. It is highly Jewish in phraseology and idea. The image of life as a Way is indeed world-wide, being found in the Chinese Classics as well as in Greek writers. But it was specially dear to both the earlier and later Judaism; appears in the Gospels; and was evidently a favorite title for their new life among the early Jewish Christians.[2] Here it has its fullest elaboration, by the

[1] The intricate literary problems of the *Didaché* are discussed in the *Literary Appendix*.

[2] Acts ix. 2, xviii. 25 f., xix. 9, 23, xxii. 4, xxiv. 14, 22.

aid of materials scattered in almost every part of Jewish literature. Yet it is very doubtful whether a purely Jewish "Two Ways," in anything like the present Christian form, ever existed.[1] It could hardly have failed to leave some distinct trace in Jewish quarters. And when we bear in mind the way in which the epistle of James is studded with expressions borrowed from Jewish wisdom-literature or current maxims, we see no reason to believe that our "Two Ways" was other than Christian in origin. Jewish precedents in idea it may have had, such as the "Sayings of Ahikar,"[2] and Tobit iv: but beyond this we need not go. On the other hand its highly Jewish tone is shown in the reference to God as Creator,[3] rather than Father in the full Christian sense, even when He is set forth as the supreme object of love. This again recalls the epistle of James where the idea of Fatherhood hardly reaches the Christian level of intimate personal relationship, found for instance in St. Paul. And the reason is the same in both cases, namely lack of a deeper sense of the Sonship realized in Jesus Christ. In another respect the *Two Ways* is yet more Jewish. Unlike James,

[1] This is confirmed by the fact that while we have in the (Alexandrine) *Secrets of Enoch* (before 50 A. D.) the idea of the Two Ways, of Light and of Darkness (xxx. 15,), also a description of the Blessed and Cursed Life from the mouth of Enoch to his children (l.–lii.), yet there is no real verbal parallelism.

[2] The first modern edition of these has just been published by Dr. Rendel Harris and others.

[3] See *Ecclus.* vii. 30, "With all thy strength love Him that made thee." The Epistle of "Barnabas," which incorporates the bulk of the "Two Ways," feels this lack and adds, "thou shalt glorify Him that redeemed thee from death."

it fails to realize something of the very spirit of Christly piety. For it is content to add, as a paraphrase of the second Great Precept, the Golden rule in its old Jewish and *negative* form,[1] which falls far short of what is in a heart of love. In substantially the same negative form it occurs in a saying of Hillel, the gentle Rabbi who lived just before the Christian era; who, in reply to a would-be proselyte's demand to be taught the whole Thorah whilst standing on one foot, said: "What is hateful to thyself do not to thy fellow;[2] this is the whole Thorah, and the rest is commentary: go, study." And this parallel is the more worth quoting, that it illustrates also the remaining Jewish trait, namely the idea of a "Teaching" or commentary unfolding the full content of brief sacred oracles.

And so we pass to the "Teaching" proper as to the "Two Ways." In the earliest traceable edition (for it underwent several recensions to keep abreast with the developing ethical ideal of Syrian Chris-

[1] In this, as in its general conception, it seems influenced by the address of Tobit to his son Tobias, the bulk of which (iv. 7–19 *a*) is actually absent from one of our oldest MSS. (Cod. Sin.)—a fact which suggests that it is in origin later than the book as a whole and so more nearly reflects first century Judaism.

[2] It is interesting to note that this Jewish form occurs in two recensions in Greek, marked by "hatest" (*μισεῖς*) and "wouldest not" (*οὐ θέλεις*). The former is probably the more literal (so Tobit iv. 15, Hillel) and reappears in several early Christian writings (Apost. Const. i. 1, Apology of Aristides (Syriac form) c. 15, Clem. Hom. *bis*). The latter, our form, recurs only as an interpolation in *Codex Bezæ* of Acts xv. 20 (29), supported by the Latin of Irenæus, *καὶ ὅσα ἂν μὴ θέλωσιν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι ἑτέροις μὴ ποιεῖν*. In one form or another it seems to have been very popular in Syria.

tianity), it proceeds straight to a list of concrete prohibitions involved in walking the Way of Life (ii. 2–iii. 6). These give us a glimpse into the besetting sins of the age and country (probably North Syria, including Antioch). It is a dark and often shocking picture that we are led to form of the temper and practices of society around. On the other hand the ideal of the Judæo-Christian conscience stands forth on this dark background in a striking way. There is indeed a certain rudimentariness about it all, especially as to the motives adduced (*e. g.*, in the frequent reference to some wrong feeling as leading to a worse action), a certain interested notion of morality, and a semi-legal conception of Salvation. Yet the general impression is a pleasing one in virtue of the simple, humble, downright type of piety, which is singularly akin to James' in the points selected for emphasis. Here are some typical sentences.

"Thou shalt 'do no murder, thou shalt not commit adultery,' thou shalt not commit fornication, 'steal,' deal in magic or sorcery, procure abortion, or kill the new-born. 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's goods': 'thou shalt not perjure[1] thyself,' 'bear false witness,' 'slander,' or 'bear a grudge.' 'Thou shalt not be deceitful or double-tongued' (Ecclus. v. 9, 14); *for* the double tongue is a snare of death. 'Thy speech shall not be false' or empty, but filled full with deed. 'Thou shalt not be greedy or rapacious' or a hypocrite or malicious or 'overbearing.' 'Thou shalt not take evil counsel against thy neighbor' (Prov.

[1] Here Lev. xix. 11–18 begins to blend with Ex. xx. 13–17, from which some of the former phrases are taken. Those that echo known biblical or apocryphal sayings are indicated by inverted commas.

iii. 29). 'Thou shalt not hate' any man; but some 'thou shalt rebuke,' for others thou shalt pray, and others 'thou shalt love' more than thy life."

Here our manual collects the chief Old Testament passages that treat of right conduct toward one's neighbor, adding some fresh applications suggested by pagan habits not contemplated in the Mosaic Law. And the sum of the matter is a rule of Love as conditioned by the neighbor's state. It then proceeds to points where Old Testament precedent is less plentiful.

"My child,[1] flee from every evil *and from all that is like unto it.* Be not wrathful, *for* wrath leadeth to murder: nor jealous nor contentious nor passionate, *for* from all of these murders are engendered." And so on with lust, filthy talk and leering; divination and the black arts (as akin to idolatry); lying, avarice, vainglory—"since these all lead to theft;" grumbling, self-will, evil-mindedness (all fruitful parents of blasphemies). Rather let the convert be meek, "since the meek shall inherit the earth" (Ps. xxxvii. 11); likewise "long-suffering, pitiful, guileless, quiet, kindly, ever trembling at the words which thou hast heard (Is. lxvi. 2, 5). Thou shalt not exalt thyself, neither shalt thou admit boldness into thy soul. Thy soul shalt not cleave to the lofty, but with the just and humble shalt thou consort. The workings (of Providence) that befall thee thou shalt accept[2] as good, knowing that apart from God naught occurs."

This ideal of meek, uncomplaining, resigned piety, is exactly that seen in James (as also in the Essenes); and is here clearly the persistence of an old Jewish type, practically unchanged, in the Jewish-Christian circle represented. For there is so far no

[1] Here we have a hint that the original *Two Ways* was not put into the mouth of the Twelve Apostles, but came as the counsel of the "Wise man," after the manner of Proverbs.

[2] *Ecclus.* ii. 4, "Accept whatsoever is brought upon thee."

trace of dependence upon purely New Testament words. There are perhaps some minds to whom such piety, whether in James or in the *Two Ways*, may seem meagre and Judaic. It is true that it draws, or at least seems to draw, but little of its inspiration from the more Evangelic motives so richly set forth in certain parts of the New Testament—the Christ element, to sum it up in a phrase. But it is only slowly that we realize how different from Paulinism—the only form of this more inner and mystical faith traceable at the time in question, *i. e.*, prior to 62 A. D.—was Judæo-Christian faith, and for that matter average Gentile faith likewise. As we shall see later, Paulinism *as an experience* lived only within the circle of his more immediate friends. And we should be thankful to note that even where the theological consciousness was so disparate, the piety was so alike in tone and quality.

Our Manual continues (ch. iv.):

"My child, thou shalt remember day and night him that speaketh unto thee the word of God, and shalt honor him as the Lord: for where the Lordship is the speaker's theme, there is the Lord.[1] Moreover thou shalt seek out day by day the persons of the Saints (cf. Ecclus. vi. 33–36, viii. 8 f.), that thou mayest rest upon their words (cf. Rom. ii. 17). Thou shalt not make a division, but shalt make peace between such as are at strife: thou shalt judge justly, thou shalt not show respect of persons in rebuking for transgressions (Lev. xix. 15). Thou shalt not be of two minds, whether it shall be or not be.[2] "Be not found holding forth thy

[1] Compare the Rabbinic maxim: "Where Thorah is studied, there is the Shekinah."

[2] To judge from *Ecclus.* vii. 10, "Be not faint-hearted in thy prayer; and neglect not to give alms," this goes closely with what follows, enjoining faith in God as "rewarder of them that diligently seek Him" (Heb. xi. 6): cf. Hermas, *Vis.* iii. 4.

hands to receive, but drawing them in as to giving (Ecclus. iv. 31, vii. 32). If thou hast it in hand, thou shalt give ransom for thy sins.[1] Thou shalt not hesitate to give, neither shalt thou grumble when giving (Tobit iv. 7, 16); for thou shalt recognize who is the good Recompenser of the reward (Ecclus. xii. 1–3, Tobit iv. 14, Psalm Sol. ix. 6 ff.). Thou shalt not turn away from him that lacketh (Ecclus. iv. 4), but shalt make thy brother fellow-sharer in all things, and shalt not say that they are thine own (cf. Acts iv. 32). For if ye are co-sharers in that which is immortal, how much more in things perishable? Thou shalt not withhold thy hand from thy son or from thy daughter, but from their youth shalt teach them the fear of God. Thou shalt not command thy bondservant or handmaid (cf. Ecclus. vii. 20)—those that hope in the same God—in thy bitterness; lest haply they cease to fear the God who is over both of you. For He cometh not to call (men) with respect of persons, but for those prepared by the Spirit.[2] But ye, servants, shall be subject to your masters, as to a figure of God, in modesty and fear. Thou shalt hate all hypocrisy and everything that is not pleasing to the Lord. Thou shalt not forsake the Lord's Precepts,[3] but shalt keep what thou hast received, neither adding nor taking away. In church thou shalt confess thy transgressions and shalt not betake thyself to thy prayer with an evil conscience. Such is the Way of Life."

Touching the Way of Death, one need only say that it is the exact opposite of the foregoing. It is

[1] Sentiments found partly in Prov. iii. 27 f.; Ecclus. iv. 3; partly in Ecclus. iii. 30, cf. iii. 3; Tobit iv. 10 f., xii. 8 f., xiv. 11.

[2] Here the tense "cometh" (ἔρχεται, changed in Barn. xix. 7 to ἦλθεν) shows that the reference is to the Day of the Lord, of Joel ii. 28–32, taken in a more purely future sense than in the first Christian sermon by Peter (Acts ii. 17–21, 39), that is on more purely Old Testament lines. Believers in Messiah are "hoping in God" for a speedy Parousia, at which the divine call, already given in the "pouring out" of the Spirit on believers, shall take full effect in a final call of the "prepared" unto the marriage-supper of His Beloved and the manifested Kingdom of God (cf. x. 5 and the idea of the wedding garment, Matt. xxii. 10–12).

[3] The phrase here (ἐντολὰς Κυρίου simply) suggests, not the "Two ways," but oral catechism in Christ's sayings.

far briefer, a mere catalogue of vices and vicious types of men. Yet one or two points in the writer's ideal come out yet more clearly by repetition. Those are on the way to Death who are "far from meekness and patience," "not pitying the poor," and, while in general keen for gain, blind to the "reward of righteousness." Hence they are "advocates of the rich, unjust judges of the poor." In a word, they "recognize not Him that made them."

As we look back at the type of piety[1] that inspires the *Two Ways*, we cannot but feel its wonderful affinity to that embodied in the Epistle of James. And this extends, as we have just seen, to the absence in either case of all stress on Redemption as a present fact. The Creator has given man a nature fit for obedience in love: He has revealed a Law or Way of Life: He has vouchsafed the Spirit (the one clear Messianic or redemptive touch, so far) and the fellowship of "the brethren" or "the saints," severally or "in meeting" (*συναγωγή* or *ἐκκλησία*). But the great redemptive moment and act are future, the coming of the Lord to consummate His call. For this they are waiting "in patience": all between the first and the final call seems but an episode, and the reason for such delay as has already taken place far from clear. This last feature is quite explicit in James; and if the *Two Ways* originally contained no

[1] In order to complete the picture, much of the second part of the *Didaché* (*e. g.*, the Eucharistic Prayers, and the account of itinerant teachers and brethren) should be taken into account. For though its present literary form belongs to the Transition Period (62–70), yet the ideas and usages implied go far back into the first generation.

more than has been quoted above, we may see in this fact a sign of very early date, namely before hope deferred had made the heart sick with the problem that sooner or later it raised.[1] But not many years passed before this problem was felt, in Syria in particular, to be a burning one.

[1] Note how soon the problem forced itself on the notice of the Thessalonian converts, a few months or so after their conversion, so necessitating more explicit reminders of the Eschatological instruction already given (1 Thess. iv. 13–v. 2; 2 Thess. ii. 5).

BOOK II.

The Age of Transition: A. D. 62–70.

CHAPTER I.

JUDAISM AND THE EMPIRE.

BEFORE continuing the narrative of the church's life, whether in Syria or beyond, it is needful to realize the stirring events that engrossed the thoughts of men and particularly of Christian men during the latter half of the epoch now in question. It was a time of momentous significance both for Palestine and for the Empire at large. And as all Christian eyes were strained to read the counsels of God in current events, in the full expectation that Providence was reaching its climax and the present world its goal, external history has at this epoch a more intimate connection with Christian life and feeling than at any other known to Church history.

By the spring of 66 the susceptibility of the Jews had become altogether abnormal, and the patience of the Roman governor was proportionately exhausted. In the middle of May a collision occurred in Jerusalem between the populace and the Romans

on a comparatively slight issue. But it was enough to make it culpable in Florus, the procurator, to retire at this time to Cæsarea, leaving the excited city to the care of a small garrison in the fortified quarter known as the Castle of Antonia (cf. Acts xxi. 34 f.). This imprudence was not at once followed by an open outbreak; but it weakened the hands of the moderates; and by gradual acts of aggression on the part of the irresponsibles, such as the seizure of the fortress of Masada, overhanging the Dead Sea, the nation simply drifted into a state of revolt. In despair, the official hierarchy and aristocracy invoked the aid of Florus and of Agrippa II., the native ruler of certain parts of Palestine, who had the right of nominating the High Priest and generally supervising Jewish religion. The former did not respond, perhaps thinking things could only be bettered by first becoming worse; the latter sent a force of Arab cavalry to the support of the authorities. This had the effect of dividing Jerusalem literally into two camps, the party of order occupying the upper city, the revolutionaries the lower city and the temple, Eleazar, a member of the high-priestly family and the Captain of the Temple, being opposed to the policy of his own class and kindred. By the middle of August the war party were in possession of their rivals' quarter likewise; the Romans were cooped up in three strong towers; and by about the end of September they were annihilated. Thus in less than five months Eleazar's party were masters of Jerusalem. But not only so. Eastern Judæa (on whose borders lay

Arab tribes more or less hostile to Rome), Galilee, and, beyond Jordan, Idumæa and Peræa, were now with the rebels.

For the storm had meantime been spreading from another centre, Cæsarea itself. Here the Jews and the other inhabitants of Syria met in greatest numbers and under most dangerous conditions. For being nearly balanced, they were always irritating each other in petty ways: and riots and appeals to the Roman governor were of constant occurrence. For some half-dozen years things had been getting ever worse; and at the time in question a case touching the profanation of a synagogue had just been decided against the Jewish faction. The mutual irritation of the moment was disastrous. Under the stimulus of the outbreak at Jerusalem the Jews at Cæsarea were practically exterminated. This at once led to fearful reprisals wherever the Jews felt themselves strong enough to strike. This they did not only throughout Southern Syria, including Damascus, but also in Alexandria, where the Jews formed a sort of township to themselves. For a month they slew and were slain—the long pent-up suspicion of the Jew, as a distinct social and religious type, thus finding awful vent as well as justification. How far the Christians of Syria were involved in the common reign of terror, being liable as they were to suspicion from both sides, we have no sure means of judging. They must certainly have felt this month of horrors to be the prelude of Messiah's manifest intervention in a world disordered beyond recall: but of their reflections on the

whole epoch of the Revolt we shall have to treat later.

At last Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria and the master of the legions in those parts, marched from Antioch to reduce the revolt. Galilee presented but little difficulty; but after some slight success before Jerusalem he suddenly retired, ignominiously harrassed by the foe. This was in November, and being taken as an omen of final success naturally had the result of infusing into the revolution that degree of fanatical confidence which carried the Jewish people through all the war and the crowning horrors of the final siege. The die was cast. It is needless to describe the further details, which may be read in the terribly vivid and realistic pages of Josephus, save in so far as they may help to explain certain passages in Christian writings to which reference must yet be made. It is probable that large numbers of the soberer sort among all classes quietly withdrew from the unparalleled crisis which they felt to be looming in the future. If we ask at what stage the bulk of the Christians left Jerusalem, we ask a hard question, to which we essay in a later connection such answer as is possible. But we must be prepared to allow for divergent ideals and policies as having obtained even among the professed adherents of Jesus, corresponding to varying degrees of insight into the spirituality of His Messianic Kingdom, in contrast to popular Messianic ideals. To judge from the vigorous way in which the study of *Thorah*, the official interpretation and application of the Mosaic Law, sprang up

on the morrow of the Fall of Jerusalem, we may conclude that many of the Rabbis or professional scholars withdrew about this time, feeling that they and their *dicta* had no longer any place amid such confusion and lawlessness. But, with such possible exceptions, the great bulk of all classes were kept in the historic city by some feeling of duty, hope, or interest: and at first something like a constitutional government was still attempted, while resistance to the foreigner was vigorously organized in Galilee and beyond Jordan.

In so far as they reflected at all on the timeliness of their supreme effort against Rome, the Jews may have derived no little hope, both on divine and human grounds, from the fact that Rome was at this time represented by an emperor so utterly degenerate as Nero. By the irony of facts, news of the repulse of Cestius reached this emperor when on a fantastic trip to Greece, in the furtherance of his infatuation for scenic displays and athletic competitions. But the Roman empire was still served by men of sterner fibre, though in this instance, as in many another, it came not from the old circles of the public service but from the unspoiled manhood of obscurer descent. Vespasian, a tried soldier, was told off to meet the emergency; and ere he betook himself to his winter-quarters in Cæsarea, at the end of the next year, the flames of revolt in Galilee had been quenched in torrents of blood. True he had but driven back upon Jerusalem some of the fiercer spirits, such as John of Gischala. But these were in the end to be more fatal to those within, than to the foe without

the city's walls. For their advent turned the balance of power decisively against Ananus and the more moderate party; and with the violent death of Ananus, the son of the chief author of the death of Jesus, and a man in whom Josephus saw the one possible saviour of his country through some skilful arrangement with the Romans at the eleventh hour —with this final stroke of the Zealot party Jerusalem's doom was sealed.

Long, indeed, before the foe could profane it, the Holy City had lost all claim to that title even in Jewish eyes, by the utter enormities enacted by the Zealots in strange and unholy alliance with Idumæans and other aliens, "in ruin reconciled." The Temple itself became their barracks, and every consideration of purity, ceremonial and otherwise, was thrown to the winds in their frenzied pursuit of a war that was no longer a means to any high or holy end, but itself the one all-absorbing end and passion. Priest and Rabbi, the organs of Israel's religion in its two aspects, had alike been thrown aside: and as is wont to be the case in "religious wars," religion had been swallowed up of war and the lawless lusts to which war gives rein. Could stultification more complete be imagined of the high prudential politics of those religious rulers, who, scarce a generation since, had decided that it was "expedient that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not"? In this world, where providence often seems to work slowly and indirectly, no parallel for impressive precision can be cited to this "great reversal" of human judgments. The reign

of terror had now finally set in, and went on growing in intensity and utter horror during the two years and a half still intervening ere night fell forever on the Jewish Church-State.

While Vespasian was approaching Jerusalem in the early summer of 68, stamping out the revolt as he proceeded, Nero died on June 9th. The ugly rumors that had called him back from Greece to neglected Italy, had not been long in taking definite shape. By the middle of March, 68, Vindex had raised the standard of revolt from a tyrant who was not even a man of force, but a mad buffoon. In three weeks followed the defection of Galba in Spain. Yet, though in helpless fear, he changed none of his habits, laid aside none of his affectations. Indeed it was amid self-conscious dramatic posings and appropriate literary sallies, that death overtook him by the hand of his faithful secretary, when he could not himself summon courage to apply the dagger that should save him from a more ignominious death. He died, at the age of thirty-one, in the obscurity of the country villa of one of his freedmen; and his half-secret burial he owed largely to the devotion of three obscure women who still loved him. Thus, few had seen his corpse—an accident which, as we shall have cause to notice later, tended to foster the "Nero legend," according to which he was to reappear from the East and reign like an Oriental despot.

This saga, which seems to have originated even in his lifetime, grew after the somewhat mysterious close of his career. It connected itself more and

more, not only with the fact that he had had unusually close relations with the Parthians, the traditional enemies of Rome, but also with the widely diffused notion of a coming Golden Age in the world's history. This already meets us in Virgil's famous Eclogue, based on certain "Sibylline" Oracles, where it is conceived in pagan fashion as the restoration of primal glories while as yet gods mingled with men in familiar intercourse.[1] In Virgil indeed it may be largely a literary mannerism; but by the common people at least such oracles were taken seriously, especially at certain epochs of time that were felt to be portentous. And Nero's reign had been emphatically portentous, both in the moral and the physical order. Nothing seemed to men's strained minds too marvellous to happen—except, perhaps, the normal. Again, while Virgil had dwelt on the era itself and its glories, to the Neronian age, accustomed to seeing the empire and its tendencies incarnate in a person, anything short of a central and creative personality seemed shadowy and unreal. And so its mood responded as never before to the ideas of the East in this regard, where the notion was certainly prevalent that a master of the world should thence arise. Chaldæans and astrologers were so influential at Rome, that we hear more than once of edicts for their expulsion. But, it will be asked, who could have wished for a *Nero redivivus*, so as to think of his

[1] Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas;
Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo.
Jam redit et Virgo [Justitia], redeunt Saturnia regna:
Jam nova progenies cælo demittitur alto.

return as other than an object of nameless horror—the light in which it seems to have been anticipated in certain Jewish and Christian circles (see below, p. 338)? Yet Nero had a following, and that a very large one, among the mass of the people, the unprivileged many who felt chilled and depressed by the aloofness of the ruling orders among whom lived the traditions of the old Roman patricians. Nero had been very human in a sense, had shown no caste feeling, had literally come down and mingled among them freely in the theatre and the circus, and had on occasion given them splendid and exciting spectacles. There was, then, a Nero tradition and a Nero party; and in the eighteen months following on his death, during which the succession to the lordship of the world was yet undecided, these told powerfully on the course both of thought and action.

The first candidate for the purple, Galba, an honest old soldier, and a representative of the senate and the anti-Nero party, refused to fall in with the new fashion of ruling by humoring the soldiery, whom the general upset had made the arbiters of power. He was swept out of the way; and Otho, once a boon-companion of Nero's and an admirer of his ways, replaced him (Jan. 15, 69). He might be described as Nero's spiritual successor, and was welcomed by the populace as such. And when he too fell, after a brief three months, before his rival Vitellius, the nominee of the German legions, it was only a change of persons, not of principles.

During all these changes and disorders at the seat of empire, what eager spectators must the Jews

throughout the East and particularly in Palestine have been! The latter, "accustomed to the ephemeral kingdoms of the East" (so largely bound up with the reigning dynasty), may well have taken courage at the news that Cæsar's house no longer yielded a ruling Cæsar, and looked exultantly for the break-up of the Roman Empire. They may even have construed the revolt in Gaul as one for national independence after their own ideal. In any case we know that in Jerusalem the internecine madness of its defenders mounted higher and higher. To check and over-awe John and his Zealots, a free-booter named Simon, son of Gioras, was admitted in March, 69, and occupied the city outside the temple. In course of time the struggles between these two parties were complicated by the withdrawal of a party among the Zealots under Eleazar, son of Simon, of the priestly stock, who established himself in the inner precincts of the temple, whither, strange to relate, worshippers still came with their offerings. And so, buoyed by delusive hopes in part based on the civil wars of the Romans, the Jews held their ground, and outraged every sanctity, human and divine, for something like another year.

Meantime Vespasian and his elder son Titus had remained at Cæsarea watching the course of events in the larger world. Vespasian had little personal ambition. But Titus had hopes which slowly took shape through a concurrence of favoring conditions. In the first place there was a strong party of reaction against Nero's ways. Next the Syrian legions were getting restive at the spectacle of their western com-

rades playing the part of Cæsar-makers; and they longed for their turn. Last and most paradoxical of all, the Jews in place and power also made their will distinctly felt in the selection of the new dynasty of emperors. This was due mainly to the extraordinary influence which Berenice, who has already crossed our path some ten years before, when St. Paul pleaded before her brother Agrippa II., came to exercise over Titus. She, like Josephus and the renegade Tiberius Alexander, then prefect of Egypt, seems to have been partly actuated by a sort of transformed Messianic ideal, according to which Vespasian was a Gentile Messiah. And another strange thing is that Vespasian and Titus seem in a way to have shared their point of view. In any case they were supported by all the princelings related to the Herods, and they seem to have remained more appreciative of Syrian ideas than their predecessors had been. On July 1st Tiberius Alexander proclaimed Vespasian at Alexandria, an example quickly followed by the legions at Cæsarea and by those under Mucianus at Antioch. It was decided that Mucianus should march against Vitellius while Titus continued the Jewish war, Vespasian meantime awaiting the course of events at Alexandria. By the end of December the Flavian dynasty was finally established, and by its sensible and economic conduct of public affairs began to give the Empire a new stability. Far other was it with its would-be rival. By the end of 69 all Judæa had submitted, with the exception of Jerusalem and three strongholds perched on heights overlooking the Dead Sea.

And now, with the spring of 70, Titus, freed from other anxieties, advanced to the grim task of a set siege, the more incensed by reason of efforts its defenders had made to bring the Parthians into the arena of the late civil war. His lines surrounded Jerusalem just when it was crowded with pilgrims to the Passover, a fact which made the sequel yet more unspeakably tragic, while it proves the confidence in the national cause still felt by numbers of the Diaspora in face of all that had occurred within the city to shock anything like a sensitive piety. Some Jewish advantages gained by surprise served only to aggravate the struggle on both sides. The city was singularly rich in defences, owing to the hilly nature of the site. By May half the city was in the hands of the Romans. At this stage terms were offered, probably owing in part to the good offices of Agrippa, Josephus, and other Jews near to the person of the Roman general. Their contemptuous rejection was followed by enhanced cruelty in the conduct of the siege. Thus hundreds of prisoners were crucified, with odious tortures, in the sight of the city, to intimidate the foe. But the defenders having succeeded in burning the siege machines by sorties at the end of May, were little in the mood to be awed. And so circumvallation was resorted to. By the end of June famine began to do its deadly work both directly and indirectly. The armed Zealots cared only for themselves, and by their unheard-of barbarities in seizing provisions drove the wretched citizens to correspondingly desperate and revolting expedients for self-preservation. Thus

famine, disease, desperation, madness, made the city a very *Inferno*. Yet did they believe the Temple inviolable, and relied on Jehovah's intervention at the last moment for it and for its defenders.

At last, weary of delays, Titus prepared to storm the remaining defences. On July the 5th the fortress Antonia fell, and opened a path for further attacks. These were concentrated on the key of the situation, the massive masonry of the Temple-area. On July 17th *the perpetual sacrifices ceased*, for want of those at leisure to offer. This must, indeed, have sent cold dismay through most hearts. It was, to strict Jewish sentiment, a phenomenon as grave as a cessation of the processes of nature. It seemed like the snapping of the last link between them and Jehovah, in whom was now their sole hope of succor. Again the Jews about Titus seem to have gained for them the offer of terms: and again it was flung back in disdain. Step by step the area was won, and on August 8th, the walls having defied the strongest engines, fire was set to the gates of the temple precincts. The horror of the Jews at seeing the incredible happen, must have been unutterable. But there was no time for reflection; the frenzied instinct of resistance was now too strong upon them. They made a fierce assault on the troops guarding the charred portals, while Titus was deliberating on the fate of the Temple itself and resting for the final assault. They were hurled back, and the Romans pressing closely on their heels poured into the outer temple court. Almost at once fire broke out in the northern porticos. And when Titus came upon the

scene, it was too late to save the structure as a whole. Nor was he even able, though he probably desired it, to save the splendid sanctuary itself. It too perished by some chance brand.

On the fearful carnage that followed then and during the many days that it took to reduce the remaining strongholds, it is needless to dwell. Nor need one narrate the last and fiercest stand of all, that which ended in the self-immolation of the garrison of Masada, the rock-fortress on the further shore of the Dead Sea, on April 15th, 72. Enough to relate that a certain number of captives were kept for death at great *fêtes* and spectacles; of the rest, those above seventeen were condemned to forced labor in Egypt and elsewhere; while those below seventeen were simply sold as slaves. The Temple buildings were razed to the very foundations, and the site of the city was rendered utterly desolate, "a dwelling place of jackals," save where the Tenth Legion was left, encamped under the shelter of part of the western wall, to guard the ruins and prevent all attempts at restoration. And so it lay from September 70 to the year 122, when it began to be rebuilt by Hadrian as a Roman colony under the name of *Ælia Capitolina*.

"Judæa was overturned from top to bottom." A special tribute was levied on Jews throughout the empire, amounting to the sum which they had hitherto paid to their temple in Jerusalem. Apart from this, Jews in general did not suffer permanent harm from the revolt in Judæa, a circumstance due in part to the coterie of leading Jews who followed

Titus to Rome and of which Agrippa and Berenice —who bid fair at one time to be a second Cleopatra —were centre. In this pious work of minimizing the anti-Jewish impression which the war could not fail to leave behind, Josephus played an important part by his history of the Jewish War, which he wrote and published towards the end of Vespasian's reign "under royal patronage," as it were. Yet the more intensely national spirit, even in Jews naturalized outside Palestine, had not been extinguished; it had but been driven underground for a while. And the proof is, the frightful outburst of fanaticism against their neighbors, the last on any scale, which marked the final year or two of Trajan's reign, 115 A. D.

And so passed away forever the last vestige of any danger of a powerful Palestinian mother-Church, fostered in its Judaistic proclivities by living and having its being amid a national, that is to say, a necessarily intolerant and exclusive Judaism. But in fact this was what really happened at the earlier and greater catastrophe of 70, whose significance for the full emancipation of Christianity may be exaggerated indeed, since much was already achieved by the Pauline Missions, but must always remain momentous. For the nascent Gentile Church might have been much hampered by the overshadowing prestige of the great mother-Church; and a wide division in the early days of Christianity, one in which the further East would probably have gone largely with Judæa, must have been a great calamity. Any such danger was averted by the events of A. D.

70. Though Judæo-Christians[1] might be insensible to the logic of the Pauline Gospel, they were not blind to the stern logic of facts. And with the ruin of Jewish national existence, of the Jewish polity as the possible framework of a world-wide theocracy, went their long-cherished prejudice as to the form in which the Messianic Kingdom was to be realized on earth. However it was to be—and as to this the vaguest and most diverse notions prevailed—the Jew, in contrast to the Gentile, was to occupy a far less privileged position in the Kingdom of Heaven than had once been supposed. All walls of partition were felt to be vanishing, and the categories "Jew" and "Gentile" were becoming altogether absorbed in a single higher one, that of elect humanity, the sanctified by faith in Jesus the Christ.

Judaism seemed, after all its agonies and tears, its sufferings for its divine vocation, to have been brought to naught. Yet it was not so, any more than in the former Exile. Israel after the flesh, indeed, was rejected and confounded. But the spiritual Israel, the true children of Abraham, whose faith said Yea to a living God who was ever leading them past old landmarks, "not knowing whither they went"—this Israel was the rather justified and confirmed. The true Shekinah had in fact gone forth to reside in the holier sanctuary of the New Israel. The "Woman arrayed with the sun" had already

[1] That the lesson was also taken to heart (as a divine judgment on the degenerate state of the national religion) by certain Jews outside Palestine, seems implied in the later parts of some of the Jewish Apocrypha, especially of *Baruch* and perhaps *iv. Ezra.*

gone through her true travailing, and had given birth to her regal Son; her divine vocation was fulfilled. Ere the sun of Jerusalem had set in blood, it had already risen elsewhere. The higher spirit of Judaism had migrated. It had taken up its abode, no longer in a race, but in the large heart of humanity. Old Zion's warfare was accomplished; her prime providential mission was ended. The continued survival of Judaism as a distinct racial religion was an anachronism. True, there have been times when the Church's failure has been Israel's opportunity. But after all has been recognized, it remains true that in Christian faith and life, as set forth in the New Testament, all the permanent message of Judaism and much more is to be found; and it there lives freed from the old husk of carnal nationalism. While, then, the thoughtful mind must contemplate with the deepest pathos, and with no small searchings of heart, the catastrophe in which the conservatism of blunted moral perceptions involved a whole nation, it cannot but feel the enormous negative gain that such a world-judgment on a false ideal at once brought about. The idea of covenanted exclusiveness, blind to the rights alike of mankind and of the individual man, was incarnated in the Judaism that, having rejected the Christian idea of Religion, fought itself to death in 70 A. D. Would that the Church, the visible guardian of the opposed religious principle, had never itself been leavened with the old bitter leaven.

CHAPTER II.

PALESTINE AND THE EPISTLE "TO HEBREWS."

THERE can be no doubt that the decade prior to the Fall of Jerusalem brought severe and varied trials to Christian faith. What chiefly made these years so critical was the fact that the leaders, the apostles and other witnesses of the first generation, were rapidly passing off the scene. This is a fact which would under any view have tended to make the situation more critical than heretofore. The removal of the "fathers" of any movement always brings a testing time. But it was specially so with the second generation of Christians. For their leaders had lived in the expectation that they themselves would not "taste of death" in the ordinary sense, but that ere the eyewitnesses of Messiah's first appearing had fallen asleep "the Kingdom of God" should have come "in power." Nay, there were even current, as a saying of Christ's, the words: "Verily I say unto you that this generation shall not pass until these things shall all have come to pass." What things? Hitherto at least, such words had been understood to mean that the Second Coming, the full and final "Presence" (Parousia) of the glorified Messiah, should anticipate the debt of nature; and that they and their fellow-believers should see the manifest vindication of their faith that

He who had been crucified in weakness had indeed been raised in power. But no such vindication had occurred. On the contrary, the growing weight of exceptions was beginning to bear down the rule, that certain original disciples should live to witness the Lord's Return. This very practical perplexity was felt by all Christian circles in some degree. But it was felt most acutely in those of the Judæo-Christian type. They were saturated with the traditional Jewish Messianic expectation, which disqualified men for taking another and more spiritual view of such sayings of Jesus as seemed to imply a speedy bodily return. They were familiar with Palestine, in many cases with the very spots which His earthly ministry had consecrated, and were naturally more preoccupied with the realistic side of Messiah's history—that "Knowledge after the flesh" in which Paul saw no small danger. Further they knew the original apostles as men, in a way impossible to distant Gentile Christians. And last but not least, they had in many cases failed to grow into that inerness of faith, that realization of a personal salvation in Christ already present in experience, which was the compensating advantage of Gentile Christianity, imperfectly informed as it was on the actual history of the Messianic Salvation.

Thus we must consider the problem of this transition period, before the year 70 opened many blind eyes to the true nature of the Messianic Kingdom as realized in the New Israel of God, under two largely distinct aspects; those, namely, which tried the faith and patience of Palestinian and non-Palestinian

Christians respectively. And first as regards Palestinian Christianity. Here the enquiry that springs to mind is that touching its attitude, after James' death in 62, to the patriotic movement that proved the death-pangs of the national existence. The subject is confessedly obscure, owing to the paucity and incidental nature of our data. Yet a fairly self-consistent picture may be drawn at least provisionally.

We have seen already how little transformed by the belief, "Jesus is the Messiah," was the average religion of Judæo-Christians, especially in Syria itself. This emerged from our study of the first half of Acts, the Epistle of James, and the earlier parts of "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles." Accordingly when James, the revered head of the Jerusalem Church and the leading figure in Judæan Christianity, [1] was removed by martyrdom at the hands of the priestly hierarchy, not later than A. D. 62, the problem must have arisen in many minds as to the bearing of this event on their earlier hopes. Were the people as a whole after all to remain hostile to Jesus Messiah? And why did He suffer His own blood-kinsman and dynastic representative, as it were, to be butchered, and yet make no sign? The scandal of His own shameful death had indeed been so far cancelled by His glorious resurrection, and by the earnest it seemed to give of His speedy return in power. But the actual course of events since then had been singularly perplexing, a mixture of spiritual triumphs and earthly disasters. Trials, indeed, they

[1] We shall give reasons for believing that Peter was by this time far less than James to the bulk of Judæan Christians.

were more or less prepared for as part of the birth-pangs of the Age to come. But why were not the most faithful of His followers delivered from the final bitter cup of death? All seemed weakness: where was His power to save? If they looked further afield, the same enigma faced them. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, whatever doubts some of them might have had about the legitimacy of his methods, was obviously a man who had enjoyed his Lord's approval. And yet he too had ended his career by a death occasioned by what they knew to be a false charge and for reasons which they could not fathom. All was dark, very dark. For it is more than probable that James' death had encouraged an increase of persecution in various degrees throughout Palestine.[1] What could it mean? What was the relation of the new and higher form of the Covenant to the old, whose representatives so persistently refused to admit its claim?

The stress was more than the Christian faith of many had power to withstand: for it lacked due insight. And so a crisis seems to have arisen quite suddenly, to judge from the hint given by the Epistle to the Hebrews; since its writer, while intending to hasten to his readers' side, yet felt it needful to risk a letter forthwith, touching the reception of which he felt some anxiety (xiii. 18 f., 22 f.). Who this writer was is one of the mysteries of New Testament literature. He plainly belonged to the Pauline circle in some sense, though in theological stand-

[1] See Heb. xii. 3–13, xiii. 3, though things had not yet reached the severity implied in Mark xiii. 12.

point he is even more the successor of Stephen; he is kept from hurrying off to Judæa by his desire for the company and support of "our brother Timothy," whose release (probably from imprisonment occasioned by the closing episodes of Paul's earthly career) he chronicles as a fact just brought to his own ears. He appears to be writing from Italy, most likely from some seaport on the East or West coast. On the other hand he hopes to be "speedily restored" to his readers, an expression suggesting some recent residence among them. He has considerable knowledge of their leaders, to whose faithful watch over their brethren he alludes emphatically (xiii. 7, 17, 24). He is also familiar with their mental state beyond what follows from the fact that he has had recent news of their actual condition, leading him to pen this "word of exhortation." Yet he is also keenly alive to the fact that he is not exactly one of themselves in his religious standpoint and traditions. He has to protest that what he writes, even where it seems strange or innovating, he writes in a "good conscience," and bespeaks a candid and patient hearing (xiii. 18, 22). Obviously he cannot rely on the sheer weight of his name; for he does not prefix it. It is only on the cogency of his great argument that he has to rely. This circumstance tells somewhat against the view that Barnabas was the writer; and it would suit Apollos rather better than Silas.[1]

[1] Well as Silas seems to fit into most of our available data, yet if the same Silas was about 63 the bearer of Peter's letter to certain churches in Asia Minor, his work could hardly have led him so recently to Palestine.

On the whole, then, and in view of the broadly "Alexandrine" theology of the Epistle (though on a more historical and realistic basis than can be called strictly Alexandrine), probabilities tend to converge on Apollos. Indeed, if we can suppose that he had lived in Judæa (*e. g.*, Cæsarea) a good deal since Paul's residence at Cæsarea (cf. Titus iii. 13)—whither he probably attracted many of his old friends, to see him and take counsel touching his churches—we have a most satisfactory hypothesis. More we can hardly say on the score of authorship. But in any case the readers, while Hebrews, do not seem to be thought of as in Jerusalem, but rather as in the maritime plain, where some knowledge of Italian Christians is more likely to have existed, as well as a less immovable devotion to the Temple services. Had the letter been addressed to Jerusalem, it is far harder to explain the absence of early tradition to that effect. As it is, a sort of circular letter, sent primarily to the more Hellenized communities of the coast-lands, might easily fail to gain a local habitation and a name. For, indeed, "To Hebrews" is next to no name.

Such being the general situation, and such the type of readers addressed, we may from the Epistle itself fill in the picture a little further. Their tendency to a faithless falling away from God as a "living God," by "drifting away" from the *terra firma* of the Gospel (iii. 12, ii. 1), was due, not to any mere pressure from the older Judaism—though this probably served to bring things to a crisis—but rather to a growing doubt whether their religious

needs were met much more fully by the New than by the Old. Or rather they asked themselves whether the element added to the Old by the New was of sufficient moment to warrant persistence in their somewhat detached attitude toward the national life, in the hope that it would ere long come over to them by piecemeal conversions or by a sweeping revulsion of feeling. They were feeling more than ever the cost of their sectarian position, as the national pulse began to beat feverishly, and as the authorities showed their suspicion by acts like the martyrdom of the revered James. The hard question, whether the new privileges and blessings were worth the growing cost, could no longer be shirked. And on their own premisses we can see that the question was an open one. We have seen how slightly marked off from the better Jewish piety by any matter of principle was the piety inculcated in the Epistle of James. And when we come to deal with the theology of the Apostolic Age this fact will again meet us. But in any case it was only in the future, at the Glorious Return of their Messiah, Jesus, that the distinctive benefits of the Messianic Kingdom were expected to come into full force. And so, having but little insight into the Grace of God in Christ already available, little innerness of Christian experience, they felt dispirited at the delay of the Kingdom's real coming: and doubt in varying degrees sprang up. Was it quite certain after all, that the diviner life, which faith in Jesus had brought them, was so unique and self-evidently Messianic as they had once thought? Men began to absent

themselves from the distinctive meetings of the brethren, so evading the reproach of the Cross, in which they had not learned to see any glory (Christ's "despising shame" in relation to the Cross, is a significant reference), but also passively relapsing into the average national religion.

What was needed, then, was something more than reminders of their original grounds of belief; the Resurrection as a fact that overbore all the difficulties of the Cross (itself a burden and no inspiration to faith); the divine approval of the gospel message by "signs, wonders, and varied powers and Holy Spirit gifts"; and not least in practical effect, the contagious faith and courage of the original witnesses themselves—an ever-lessening factor. No, more was needed; something of another, an intrinsically religious kind. And this is exactly what our author's insight into the need and its supply, enabled him to give; namely, an unfolding of the spiritual contents, the forces of grace and power, latent in the facts already known in an external and carnal way by these Jewish Christians. The greatness of the salvation already available, and not only guaranteed at a future season, was the true antidote to slackness of knee and the absence of the buoyant faith that is strong to endure. This meant, first, an adequate appreciation of the transcendent Person of their Messiah, placing Him in an order by Himself, above both angels, the traditional media of the giving of the Law on the divine side, and Moses, the human recipient of the same for the Lord's Chosen People. And next it meant a priesthood

equally superior to the Aaronic, one typified by the mysterious pre-Aaronic priest-king of Salem, that is, "Peace." In such a Messiah there was perfect provision for access into the Holy of Holies of the Divine Presence, and that on a permanent and abiding basis. Indeed the access contemplated even by the Levitical institutions was not on the same plane of reality at all. Hence the idea of supplementing the one with the other, let alone falling back on the earlier and shadowy as in any sense sufficient, was not only absurd, it was even blasphemous. It did double despite; to the Priest who was God's Son, and to the Spirit of Grace given through Him—of whose excellent gifts they themselves in their earlier and better days had had some experience. Let them, then, take heed how they treated this higher and final form of the Covenant; since the penalty of apostasy from even the earlier form had been terrible. For a man deliberately to turn back to the old after experience of the new, from the reality to the shadow, would be to declare one's own reprobation, that to him light had become as darkness. And such destruction of spiritual faculty was an irreparable thing. Let them think again. Had the old sacrifices and ablutions been able to cleanse the conscience? Had they been more than symbols and shadows, taking effect primarily on the outer man, and not on the heart? Nay, had they not, by their recurrence, witnessed to their own inefficacy to remove the evil to which they were as a standing witness?

The writer is surprised at the backwardness of

their understanding in things divine, after that time enough had gone by to admit of their being masters, not mere learners, in the things of Christ's religion. His direct remonstrance teaches us two things very clearly. First, that the writer belonged to a somewhat different circle of culture and Christian thought from his readers, whose sluggish dullness, as it seemed to him, was mainly but the result of a too purely Jewish tradition in which they lived and moved. And next, that we must distinguish between what the writer gives them of his own—to them probably quite a new view of the Gospel and of its Author—and what he alludes to as already recognized among them. These two strands have to be carefully kept apart when we use the epistle for historical purposes. And this task is the easier, that the writer has himself summed up the conception of the average Judæo-Christians he has in view; that with which they had begun, and beyond which they had not advanced toward spiritual maturity of insight. It consisted of "Repentance from dead works and faith resting on God," associated with "teaching touching ablutions (of various kinds) and the imposition of hands, resurrection of the dead and eternal judgment" (vi. 1–3). A rudimentary sort of Christian creed indeed, and one which would present but a slight barrier to the man whose hope of Messiah's return had already waxed dim. Of course their actual experience had been far richer in Christian elements than this would seem to indicate. Their souls had been strangely uplifted and for a time enlightened by the Holy Spirit at their baptism. In a word,

they had had foretaste of "powers of an age soon to dawn:" but this had failed to give rise to further spiritual developments, and particularly anything like reflective appreciation of all it implied as to Christ and His relation to the believer. These defects the writer sets himself to remedy. He warns them most solemnly of the danger of turning their back on such heavenly experiences as they had once known, and assures them that their Lord will in fact return, and that speedily. For he seems to feel in the signs of the times, especially in Judæa, the mutterings of that tempest, wherewith He who had spoken from heaven in His Son was about to shake all things capable of shock, with a view to the manifest establishment of that eternal City for whose citizenship all the heroes of faith from Abel downward had in spirit yearned. In that "Kingdom not to be shaken" the earlier and the latter saints alike should find the consummation they had welcomed, from afar or from near at hand.

Such is the thrilling *Sursum Corda* wherewith this prophetic soul strives to lift fellow-believers, and in many cases actual acquaintances, out of their discouragement and doubt. The crisis was as momentous as it was inevitable in the development of the Judæo-Christian consciousness. It was indeed a poignant necessity, to have to make up the mind to put altogether on one side the venerable ritual observances of ancestral religion, a religion ordained of God amid the awful sanctions of Sinai. Yet the choice had to be made. The parting of the ways had come both from external and from inter-

nal causes. If they did not recognize the intrinsic incompatibility of their Messianic allegiance and that which the national religion demanded, others saw it, and put their feeling into action by imprisoning and otherwise penalizing the followers of the Nazarene Messiah (xii. 3–13, xiii. 3). They must go forward or backward; the half-way house was no longer tenable. The "sword" of Messiah had revealed itself in their midst. Could they bear to break with Judaism, go forth without the camp of "the national faith," carrying afresh in their own experience the reproach of Christ's Cross? If so, no longer must it appear as something accursed, but as the altar whereon the Heavenly High Priest had realized, once for all, the one real Sacrifice of effectual mediation, in offering Himself through the eternal Spirit without blemish unto God.

A modern writer has tried to picture the scene, when this fervid appeal reached the responsible heads of the first church, probably that of Cæsarea,[1] to which the writer commissioned his messenger to carry the Epistle. "The meeting is unusually large: some are present who have almost forsaken the assemblies of the Church; for it is known that a letter to the Christian Jews on their present dangers and duties was received by one of the Elders ('leaders' they are styled) a few days ago, and something will be said about it to-night." One of the Elders rises, and amid breathless stillness, broken perhaps

[1] Passages like xiii. 4, 9, dealing respectively with sexual and dietary purity, suit a Hellenistic community like Cæsarea better than Jerusalem.

by involuntary exclamations of surprise and even of demur at some of its new and bold thoughts, the letter is read. With what freshness and pertinence would all go home. Every point that to us is obscure, and may be read in a mechanical, conventional fashion—whether it be the reference to the Messianic "Rest" following on the "travail-pangs" that were to usher in the Day of the Lord, or the touching reminder of their early cheerful sufferings and devotion to the service of imprisoned brethren—every such point would tell on those first hearers.

But with what result? None can say with confidence. The writer himself augurs, by his apologetic tone at the end, no unanimous approval. Probably the result was twofold. The secrets of the heart were in any case brought to the light. Thenceforth some decided to go back and follow no more in the Way of this Messiah, between whom and the national religion a definite choice had to be made; others again, equally realizing the issue, would choose the better part. Nor can we doubt that a like process of sifting went on some years later[1] in Jerusalem itself, when the national revolt from Rome began in the summer of 66 A. D. We have indeed no explicit notice of the time or the exact conditions under which the final breach and the resulting exodus to Pella took place. Eusebius (H. E. iii. 5), after al-

[1] This is on the assumption, on the whole the more probable one, that the Epistle followed hard on James' death, in 62 A. D., rather than immediately preceded the war with Rome. In favor of the earlier date, as one at which the national crisis was already felt to be imminent, one may refer to the fact that it is in that year that Josephus places the appearance of Jesus Ben Ananias, with his doleful dirge, "Woe, woe unto Jerusalem."

luding to the death of James, goes on to say that, before the Divine wrath finally burst over the Jewish nation, the rest of the Apostles were the objects of countless plots against their lives and were in fact forced to flee the land of Judæa, betaking themselves to the Gentile world. Quite probably it was at this epoch (62–66) that John left Palestine, the headship of the Jerusalem Church falling to Symeon, "whom all put forward," says Hegesippus in the second century, "as being a blood relation of the Lord."

As to the movements of Judæan Christians we gather, again from Eusebius (probably on the authority of Hegesippus), that they were bidden by "a certain divine oracle, given by revelation to[1] the local leaders (lit. 'men of repute') to remove before the war from the City and inhabit a certain city of Peræa, Pella by name." One can hardly help connecting this notice with the form of the warning found in Mark xiii. 14, and so far repeated in Matt. xxiv. 15. "But whene'er ye see 'the abomination of desolation' [the Roman invader] standing where he ought not—let the (public) reader understand—then let them that are in Judæa flee to the Mountains." Here we seem to have the warning in a form vague as regards the place of refuge, and therefore older than that contemplated by Eusebius. Now the parenthetical caution to the Reader, common to Mark and Matthew, probably belonged to established tradition; since Mark, who was writing for Gentiles far from Palestine,

[1] The most probable rendering of the Greek of Eus. iii. 5. 3, (*κατά τινα χρησμὸν τοῖς αὐτόθι δοκίμοις δι' ἀποκαλύψεως* [*ἐκ*]*δοθέντα πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου*).

would have no end to serve in inserting it of his own motion, while he might naturally adopt it from an existing source. And indeed, we may well wonder whether this was not itself the very form in which the warning before the war went the round of Judæa (and not Jerusalem only). For the vaguer "to the Mountains" (*i. e.*, those nearest at hand) may well have been the cry upon which the Christians actually went, when they fled before the approach of Titus, not like other Jews to the doomed Jerusalem, but to Israel's oft-tried fastnesses among the hills.[1] The tradition that they were warned to go to Pella may have arisen later, from the fact that the bulk of the Jerusalem Christians at least were believed to have gathered thither, possibly quite gradually and after various wanderings.

We have suggested that this critical season, in 66 A. D., saw a sifting, the final sifting among the Christians of Palestine. But there are signs that the whole period between 62 and 66 was one long process of sifting, passing from the milder form of scourging, imprisonment, loss of goods (when the Epistle to the Hebrews was written), to the death penalty implied in Mark xiii. 12 f. and parallels. For the bitterness of feeling involved not only in their being universally hated for the name of Jesus

[1] "The Central range in Judah and Ephraim formed Israel's most constant sanctuary"; and in Judæa (used by Mark in its narrower sense) "the Mountains" were far more distinct from the lower uplands or downs (the Shephelah), than those in Samaria from the corresponding country. Hence the greater isolation and safety of the former, especially in the wildest parts about Hebron (see G. A. Smith's *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*).

the Christ (in contrast to the favor of the populace in the earlier days of Acts), but also in the betrayal of believers by their own nearest and dearest, can be adequately explained only by the strength of the "patriotic" movement, rising to its climax between 62 and 66 A. D. Nor must it be forgotten that in the earlier part of this period (62–64) the building of the Temple was finally completed, a fact of much religious promise in Jewish eyes. Accordingly not a few Jewish believers may have been reabsorbed by the patriotic excitement of the moment, into ordinary Judaism of the sincerer order. Some, on the other hand, may have anticipated the decision of their recognized leaders as to the season of withdrawal from fellowship with the national cause and religion. Such may have withdrawn individually, at different moments in the unfolding of the drama, and taken up their abode with the brethren in the safer districts. They would naturally belong to the less national and more liberal side of Judæan Christianity, that largely composed of the Hellenists referred to in Acts vi. 1 ff: and accordingly might be expected to betake themselves, by an instinctive selective affinity, to the mixed communities of Jewish and Gentile believers on the coast-lands and in Samaria, rather than to those of the more purely Jewish inland regions. Such a circumstance would serve to explain how the final exodus, when at last it took place, involved a body of people no larger than was able to find a home in the comparatively small city of Pella, under the jurisdiction of Agrippa II., who sided with the Romans. This semi-foreign

place, lying on the northwestern border of Peræa and looking out from sloping ground across the Jordan valley a few miles south of Bethabara, ranked as one of the Greek cities known collectively as Decapolis. And the bare fact that these Jerusalem refugees chose to live there at all, implies that they were not of the most exclusive wing of Judæo-Christians. And this is important, seeing that they presumably included the leaders of the Jerusalem church referred to by Eusebius.

As to the fact that we hear so little about Christianity in a quarter where we should have expected to hear much of it, namely Galilee, the home of the Gospel and its most congenial soil, the prime reason is also to be sought in the Jewish war. Not only did the brunt of Cestius' brief campaign in autumn 66 fall on Galilee, but it was simply deluged with blood during the bitter war of extermination waged by Vespasian and Titus through the greater part of 67, against the stubborn hardihood of the northern population. Here too the Christians probably took warning betimes; if not before the approach of Cestius, then surely before that of Vespasian. They went to swell the communities which we know later to have existed in large numbers east of the Sea of Galilee, in the rugged, upland regions extending to the Hauran, whence come the bulk of surviving Judæo-Christian inscriptions. Some, too, would find on the Phœnician coast the easiest places of refuge, reinforcing the mixed Christian communities there in existence. In Cæsarea we may even imagine the two streams of refugees, the Judæan and the Galilean,

meeting and blending in the larger and freer life of its composite church.

Whatever be thought of these possibilities, it is certain that the local distribution and development of Judæo-Christianity was enormously modified by the War of 66–70. These changes must for the most part have resulted in a diminution of strict Judæo-Christians, though by isolating them in out-of-the-way places the crisis may have made these stricter than ever. By such the victorious progress of the Churches of the Uncircumcision would be watched, as from the outside, with a resentment that bitterly contrasted the strangely hard lot of themselves, as of their nation, and brooded over the postponement of the true Messianic Kingdom. This cannot, however, have been the case with the main body of Jerusalem Christians gathered at Pella, since the place chosen was one of a semi-Gentile character. The traditions of James and others like-minded probably prevailed among them; and the logic of facts must, by 70 A. D., have taught them the lesson which the Epistle to the Hebrews had already unfolded. And these presumptions are borne out by the impression of this community which Eusebius had gleaned from older writers, such as Hegesippus and Ariston of Pella.

Though the time of its actual return to the ruined Jerusalem is unknown (it was probably only very gradual), yet between that time and the Second Jewish War under Barcochba in 133–135, there seems to have been a recognizable succession of leaders—whose names survived in writing to Eusebius' day—touch-

ing whose religious position later Christian opinion had no misgivings. This does not mean that they were not still highly Jewish in their theology and personal usages: but it does mean that they were in communion with Gentile Christianity and were not exclusive in their attitude to uncircumcised Christians, as were the stricter sort later known as Ebionites. These latter would be the successors of the more sequestered communities already mentioned, who probably fraternized at an early date with the kindred Jewish sect of the Essenes, whose settlements about the Dead Sea would be a natural resort for other outcasts from orthodox Judaism. Some fusion of their tendencies probably explains the curious Elkesaite type of Judæo-Christianity which meets us in the second century.

No doubt the relations between Jews and Jewish Christians became increasingly strained after A. D. 70. But we have here few historical data to go upon.[1] The most definite piece of information relates to the part played by certain Jewish partisans in trying to smite these hated heretics (*Minîm*) with the strong hand of the conqueror. Naturally Vespasian was anxious to prevent further trouble arising from the Messianic hope. So he caused inquisition to be made for all of the Davidic stock, a step in which he was later followed by Domitian. In the latter case "certain sectaries," probably members of

[1] A probable reference, which certainly belongs to 70–100 A. D., is found in the later part of the *Apocalypse of Baruch* (xli.–xlii.). Those "who have withdrawn from Thy covenant and cast from them the yoke of Thy Law," and "mingled themselves with the seed of mingled peoples," have no hope in the Coming Age.

one or more of the seven Jewish sects which Hegesippus elsewhere counts up, denounced the grandsons of Jude, the Lord's brother, as of Davidic descent. Domitian soon satisfied himself by an interview with these horny-handed peasants that they were not of the kind to disturb his empire,[1] and dismissed them to their homes. On their return they enjoyed yet greater prestige than before among the Palestinian churches, as being not only the Lord's kinsmen but now also tried "witnesses." Somewhat later a similar accusation, probably from the same quarter, actually caused the martyrdom of Symeon, also a kinsman of the Lord and James' successor in the regard of the Jerusalem Church. He suffered on a charge laid before the Roman governor Atticus, in Trajan's reign, that he was at once of Davidic race and a Christian.

Consecutiveness of thought has carried us beyond the age of transition in the narrower sense with which we started (62–70), the age for which the Epistle to the Hebrews is our great witness in the New Testament as regards Palestinian Christianity. We return then to consider the same age as it affected Churches outside Palestine.

[1] If we may trust Hegesippus' language (Eus. iii. 20), their statement that "Messiah's Kingdom" was "not of this world or earthly, but heavenly and angelic" seems to imply some modification of the Judæo-Christian hope touching the earthly realization of the Kingdom of God.

CHAPTER III.

ASIA MINOR AND FIRST PETER.

F we are right in dating the Epistle to the Hebrews about 62 A. D., rather than on the very eve of the Jewish War in 66, little more than a year can have elapsed before another Epistle of counsel and cheer crossed the seas from the same quarter of the world and began to circulate among an equally important group of readers. This time Rome itself was the place of despatch, and the Christians scattered through the larger part of Asia Minor were the recipients. Nor is the letter anonymous. Its author was the Apostle Peter, who thus comes once more upon the scene after being lost to our sight for some fourteen years, dating from the Jerusalem Conference in 49.

Of his intervening movements Acts gives no hints. Nor can anything be gathered from St. Paul's letters, save the fact that Peter used to go on missionary journeys of considerable duration; for he was wont to take his wife along with him—a practice usual with the Apostles and brethren of the Lord (1 Cor. ix. 5). But, as his Epistle itself informs us, he is now in Rome, referred to under the name of "Babylon"—probably for safety's sake. His arrival must have been subsequent to Paul's two years' imprisonment, since neither mentions the other in writing,

while Mark is named by both as their personal helper (1 Pet. v. 12, 13). Besides, the use of the hated name "Babylon" suggests that Christians had already suffered there—a state of things which is less likely prior to Paul's visit, but which would be natural if Paul had already been martyred c. 61–62. Indeed the crisis felt to have been reached in an event so startling to Christians at large, as an index of the State's attitude to their religion, would best explain why Peter, a Galilean Jew, should come to Rome at all. Perhaps he had been sought out and brought thither by Mark, who had recently been in Paul's company.

While it is unlikely that Peter and Paul were in Rome at the same time, the fact that Peter names as with him two companions of Paul casts most valuable light on his own position and work in the Church during years of silence. He was no longer the typical head of the Judæan Church[1] (a position to which James had completely succeeded years before), but rather of the wider Judæo-Christian mission, whose basis was the Diaspora (especially of North Syria and Asia Minor) but which also embraced in varying proportions Gentiles as well. Peter's genius was not of the doctrinaire or inflexible type: he was sensitive to the teachings of divine facts; and the

[1] This fact probably explains the order in which Clement of Alexandria, following some Judæo-Christian authority, refers to the inner Apostolic circle. "To James the Just and John and Peter did the Lord give the true knowledge (τὴν γνῶσιν). These handed it on to the rest of the apostles; and the rest of the apostles to the Seventy, of whom Barnabas was one" (Eus. ii. 1) —a tradition of no strict historical worth.

success of the Pauline mission, so much greater than could have been imagined when the early understanding[1] as to division of labor in two distinctive missions (Gal. ii. 9) was reached, must have greatly enlarged and confirmed his own more liberal estimate of the scope of Messiah's Kingdom (cf. Acts x. 34 f.). Nor must we ignore his twofold advantage over even James. He had been a personal disciple of Jesus and had drunk in more of His universalism, His regard for man as man in the sight of the heavenly Father, which contained the seed of all that Paul had taught or could teach about the breaking down of "the middle wall of division" between the Jew and humanity at large. Then again, not being confined by his work to Jerusalem, he had more experience of the gospel's ampler bearings. Two readings of its bearing, at any rate until the King's own return should settle all such problems, were possible to men agreeing in essentials during that time of transition when the old order lived on by the side of the new, not as yet abrogated by any distinct Divine intimation. And so Peter, as his experience of the larger reading extended, grew more and more toward Paul's attitude and practice, and more away from the traditions of the Jerusalem community. And this is why tradition does not connect his name closely with Palestinian Christianity.

Hence we may assume an approximation to Paul

[1] Not made with a view to perpetuity, but provisionally, *i. e.*, until the near Parousia should adjust all things. The postponement of this hope changed the perspective of many things, a fact too often forgotten.

as going on during the years of silence, as Peter watched Paul's successes, and as he himself saw the problems touching the relation of Jew and Gentile in the new *Ecclesia* solve themselves in the course of his own missionary work. This we may guess to have lain partly in Palestine, outside Judæa and particularly in Galilee; partly, and at a later time further north, in northern Syria; and finally along the Eastern side of Asia Minor up to Pontus and Bithynia,[1] Jewish centres being visited in each case. Cappadocian and Pontic Jews are in fact mentioned as present at Peter's Sermon in Acts ii. It would then be natural for Peter to visit them, while Paul's lieutenants, such as Silas, were extending the Pauline mission northeast from provincial Asia. Aquila's connection with Pontus is suggestive of a Pauline mission in that quarter, especially through the great port of Sinopé. Opinions may vary as to whether the Epistle betrays personal acquaintance with the actual conditions of society in the regions addressed. But it is a plausible view that Peter, having had some personal relations with at least the non-Pauline provinces in question, was sought out in Rome by Silas, in order to throw his weighty influence into the scale at a critical season. The occasion was the outbreak of a persecuting spirit, instigated in large part by the Jews, to whom Paul's conviction and death would be of good omen as to the imperial policy touching Christians. For local governors

[1] This hypothesis, in itself rather suggested by his Epistle, has some inherent likelihood, geographical and otherwise Yet he may not have gone beyond Syria.

would take their cue from the emperor's conduct, and would look with no friendly eye on men who, when accused before them of specific crime, were found to labor also under the imputation of belonging to a seditious kind of religious fraternity. The Epistle, indeed, suggests that the charges came as a rule from their neighbors, masters as well as a man's equals; nor did they generally take formal shape, rather than that of verbal and social persecution. Yet the other kind of case was arising, and constituted "a fiery trial" for which the converts were asking an explanation. Peter is aware of similar phenomena in other parts of the world and urges this as part of his appeal for steadfastness. But he believes that in most cases the persecuting spirit rests on a misconstruction of the Christian ideal, the aloofness and clannishness of the brethren being held indicative of a morality that shunned the light of day.[1] For the intensity of their new comradeship made them seem the more anti-social to those that were outside.

The sum of his counsel, then, is to live down calumny in the power of the faith and inspiring example of Christ. To this object the structure of the Epistle itself bears witness. It is throughout hortatory. But the first of the three parts into which it readily falls (marked by the direct appeal, "Beloved," at ii. 11 and iv. 12) aims at lifting the readers' thoughts into the highest realm of religious faith.

[1] Cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 44, "men hated for outrageous deeds and popularly styled 'Christ's faction'" (*Christiani*, like *Pompeiani*, "Pompey's partisans").

Let them stay their hearts on the gracious will of God Himself in calling them as part of His elect People, His peculiar possession, the heirs of all the great traditions of Old Testament promise and prophecy. Then it will be but natural to them to cheerfully renounce all heathen ways of living and transform all social duties in the power of calm but exultant faith. This in turn will speedily remove much of the prejudice which lies at the root of the trials they are enduring, while meantime they will even glory in their sufferings as the lot of the Christ-life, whether in the Christ or in His Church.

The churches, so addressed, were formed of men who had for the most part once been heathen, though some doubtless had been proselytes to Judaism before the Gospel reached them. For it is "morally certain that in many places the nucleus of the Christian congregation would be derived from the Jewish congregation, to which it was St. Paul's habit to preach first." But the important point is to notice how "St. Peter applies to the whole body of the Asiatic Churches, Gentiles and Jews alike, the language which in the Old Testament describes the prerogatives of God's ancient people. The truth is that St. Peter, as doubtless every other apostle, regarded the Christian Church as first and foremost the true Israel of God, the one legitimate heir of the promises made to Israel, the one community which by receiving Israel's Messiah had remained true to Israel's covenant"—as understood by the greater prophets—"while the unbelieving Jews in refusing

their Messiah had in effect apostatized from Israel.[1] This point of view was not in the least weakened by the admission of Gentile Christians in any number or proportion. In St. Paul's words they were but branches grafted in upon the one ancient olive tree of God."

The reference to Paul in these words, in which Dr. Hort practically settles the debate touching the readers, leads us to notice one of the most striking features in this striking epistle. I mean its clear indebtedness to two at least of the Pauline epistles, *Romans* and *Ephesians*, epistles which, as having close connection with the Roman Church and as being general rather than personal in character, were most likely to be studied by his brother apostle. Such dependence was not of the nature of servile borrowing. Peter's epistle "is certainly full of Pauline language and ideas: but it also differs from St. Paul's writings both positively and negatively, *i. e.*, both in the addition of fresh elements and in the omission of Pauline elements." The Petrine speeches in the Acts shine through constantly; and even where he uses an idea that does not happen to occur in these, such as the favorite Pauline term "the flesh," he gives it a slight turn of his own (*e. g.*, iv. 1). But the use in question not only shows that Peter was able to graft deeper Pauline thoughts upon his own fundamental conceptions; it also warrants important historical inferences. Peter had a

[1] Compare the strong words of John's Apocalypse, touching "them who say they are Jews, and they are not, but are a synagogue of Satan" (ii. 9, iii. 9).

set purpose in utilizing to such an extent Pauline phraseology. He was addressing in the same breath churches both of the Judæo-Christian and of the Pauline mission,[1] and naturally wished to show the latter even by the form of his pastoral address how thoroughly at one with their apostle he was.

But we can hardly imagine Peter claiming the ear of the Pauline churches, without a word of explanation, during Paul's lifetime. Therefore once more we reach our former conclusion that Paul was already martyred by 62–63 A. D. The mention too of Silas, probably Paul's companion, as the bearer of the epistle[2] strongly suggests a growing homogeneity between the Pauline churches and those of other type among the Diaspora. For some reason or other Silas seems to have intended to begin his tour through the regions in question from some port in Pontus, probably Sinopé, then a Roman *colonia* with a great trade. As this was not the nearest or most natural point at which to land in Asia Minor, we may suppose that there was an inherent fitness in the order of his ideal progress from Pontus, through northeast Galatia,[3] Cappadocia, and Asia,

[1] This is the most probable view, since the five provinces named practically cover "Asia within the Taurus," to use Strabo's accurate phrase for the bulk of Asia Minor.

[2] Perhaps he had also a hand in its literary form, since the style is not Mark's, while its comparative purity is not what one would expect of a Galilæan fisherman (even though we regard the tradition that Mark acted as his interpreter (ἑρμηνευτὴς) as applying to his ignorance of Latin rather than Greek).

[3] If the South Galatian Churches were included, it would be more natural for Galatia to follow rather than precede Cappadocia.

ending up with Bithynia. Unless, then, the order was fixed by the relative severity of persecution in the Pontic region, we cannot but connect it with something in the writer's previous relations with the churches in that quarter, churches possibly more Jewish in origin than those of Asia.[1]

In all this it is assumed that Peter did visit Rome in his last days. This is sometimes doubted, but needlessly. For besides the cryptic reference to Rome as "Babylon" in the postscript, we have evidence to the same effect in Ignatius (*Epistle to the Romans*, "not as Peter and Paul do I lay charge on you") and yet more fully in Clement of Rome (96 A. D.).

This writer having given ancient instances of the evils wrought by jealousy (ζῆλος), appeals to those of quite recent date, even of his own generation. And as cases of "conflict even unto death" owing to "jealousy and envy," he sets before his readers' eyes "the good apostles" (note this affectionate familiarity). First "Peter, who by reason of unrighteous jealousy endured not one nor two but many (πλείονας) labors, and thus, having borne his testimony (μαρτυρήσας), went to his due place of glory." Then follows the case of Paul, due likewise to "jealousy and strife." And that both these suffered in the same place, namely Rome, seems implied

[1] A confirmation of this may perhaps be found in the violently anti-Judaic Christianity of Marcion of Sinopé about 120–140 A. D. If we suppose that Peter's letter was in response to an appeal for counsel, this again points to a like conclusion, namely the existence of some special link between him and the churches first named in the address.

in what at once follows, *i. e.*, that "unto these men of holy lives was gathered [1] a vast multitude of elect ones, such as suffered many indignities and tortures by reason of jealousy and set a splendid example among ourselves." Further, Clement, who seems to know more than Acts relates of persecutions that befell Peter, hints that his footsteps were dogged by "unjust jealousy," which in keeping with the context (where the "jealousy" is between people with close mutual ties) may best refer to the action of his compatriots, the Jews. If this be a well-grounded suggestion, we gather that Peter could be regarded by strict Jews as "an apostate" from Judaism subsequent to the date at which Acts dismisses him. Perhaps even, it was Jewish spite which brought him under Nero's notice before or at the time of the carnage in the late summer of 64 A. D.; for to the like cause Clement assigns the sufferings of the Roman Christians; and such emphasis on the phrase in question seems warranted by its use in Paul's case. But that Peter was martyred somewhere is clearly implied in John xxi. 19: and no church save Rome claimed to be the scene of martyrdom. Beautiful and characteristic of his loyal and loving nature is the story of his end as given by Clement of Alexandria. "They say that the blessed Peter, when he

[1] This surely fixes the deaths of Paul and Peter as at least not later than the barbarous Neronian outbreak of 64, and thus confirms the inference (1) that Clement knew of no Pauline release from Rome, (2) that Peter's epistle falls before autumn 64. That Peter's death is named first is probably due to the fact that having had the last apostolic word, as it were, he had left a deeper impression on the Roman Church, in which we know that Paul had felt himself a good deal isolated.

beheld his own wife being led forth to death, rejoiced by reason of her 'calling' and her going home, and called to her right encouragingly and comfortably, addressing her by name with the words, 'Remember, O thou, the Lord.'"

Good right had such a man to send words of faith and cheer to others hard bestead, saying: "Beloved, take not as strange the fiery ordeal going on among you, sent to try you, as though a strange thing were befalling you. But inasmuch as ye are partakers in the sufferings of the Christ, rejoice; that at the revealing also of His glory ye may rejoice with exultation. If ye are being vilified for the name of Christ, blessed are ye; because the Spirit of Glory and the Spirit of God resteth on you. Let not, then, any of you suffer as a murderer, or a thief, or an evildoer, or as a meddler in other men's business: but if as 'a Christian,' let him not be ashamed, but let him glorify God in this name. . . . Wherefore let them also that suffer according to God's will commit to a faithful Creator the safe-keeping of their lives, in well-doing." The situation presupposed is that of a time when persecution, following on calumny (ii. 12, iii. 16, iv. 4, 14), is beginning to be severely felt by Christians at large, "the brotherhood in the world" (v. 9), as well as in the provinces in question (i. 6, 7, iii. 14–17, iv. 12–19). And this determines the aspect of "the Grace of God" which the writer emphasizes (v. 12^b); viz, the sufferings of Christ as at once an example and something to be shared by His followers (iv. 13, cf. iii. 18), whether in steadfastness in the Christian life of well-doing

(ii. 12, 16), the witness of their profession (iii. 8, 9, iv. 4, cf. ii. 15, 16), or in self-denial as regards the works of the flesh (iv. 1–4, cf. ii. 11, 16). So shall they be qualified to share in the glory that is the due sequel of Messianic suffering (i. 11, ii. 20 ff., iii. 9, iv. 19). In these trying times the beginning of the season of Judgment, ushering in the future age, is to be discerned (iv. 17, 18). The end of all things is at hand. Sobriety and watchfulness is the temper meet for the hour when their great Adversary is abroad, ravening for his prey, ere his term of world-power shall finally expire. Yet in the naïve confidence that well-doing must as a rule shield the Christians from ill-treatment (iii. 13, yet see iv. 12), and in the command to obey human institutions, whether emperor or his officers as being sent to do justice according to desert, and to "honor the King" (ii. 13, 14, 17),—in all this, as contrasted with the fierce resentment of Rome's injustice in the Apocalypse, one may well discern signs of a date prior [1] to "the bath of blood" in 64, which so horrified the Christian consciousness. And it is probable that it was in this very carnival of cruelty that Peter met his end, the story of his crucifixion head downward sounding quite like a piece of the "mockery" in which Nero indulged. Even the tradition that Peter suffered on the Vatican Hill suits this same occasion.

[1] With this well agrees the simplicity of the picture given of the Christian communities. The organization is that of the synagogue, "elders" exercising a shepherd's oversight of the younger members of the flock. Ministering to the needy is the common personal duty of all who had the means (iv. 10). As to the "liberty of prophesying," the one rule is, "if any man speak, let him speak as uttering oracles of God" (iv. 11).

CHAPTER IV.

NORTH SYRIA AND THE DIDACHÉ.

ABOUT the time when the leaders of the first generation began to pass rapidly off the scene, while the Lord's expected return was from year to year unaccountably delayed, a serious practical crisis arose, and abuses in conduct began to become more rife as the love of many began to wax cold. For, indeed, the motive of awful expectancy, directed toward a coming that might happen at any moment, had been a mighty, though rather external, restraint put upon the human passions. And when its tension relaxed somewhat, there was a return of the old man, especially where Faith had had too little vitality to transform current Messianic notions by a vivid impression of Jesus, with His unique personal spell, as the true Messiah. When this crisis began to press upon Syrian Christianity, a fresh edition of the "Two Ways" was felt to be needed, giving among other things instruction on the Parousia question, as truth for the times.

Here we are not left to mere conjecture. Comparison of the various documents in which the "Two Ways" is now seen to survive, itself proves that the work underwent several revisions, fresh

matter of kindred kind being gradually added.[1] This was indeed a common lot with loosely-knit collections of maxims, as we see in *Ecclesiasticus* for instance, some manuscripts of which have matter not found in others. But there exists also a contemporary notice of the very conditions which gave birth to the transformation of the "Two Ways" into the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," that is, substantially our *Didaché*. The form in which this fact reaches us is peculiar, but highly characteristic of the age. It is presented as prophecy, as part of a series of events revealed in vision to the prophet Isaiah, which a Jewish Christian hand added to the Jewish Apocalypse known as the *Ascension of Isaiah*. This vision we are able to assign to about 64–68[2] A. D., so adding another to the slender chronological data of the Apostolic Age. We shall have occasion to quote this document at some length. Enough now to state that it refers to a falling away from the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" as destined to take place in the degenerate days immediately preceding the Lord's return, there expected to follow on Nero's assumption of the rôle of Antichrist about autumn 64. Such a reference does not indeed prove

[1] *Didaché* i. 3 (from "Bless ye") to ii. 1, was certainly so inserted, in one or two stages; and ch. vi. was appended, probably at the moment when the manual passed definitely beyond Jewish Christian circles into the hands of Gentile Christians who could not be expected to "bear the yoke of the Lord as a whole," and so be "perfect." They were to do what they could as to abstaining from unclean foods: but by all means they were to beware of food offered to idols, "for it is a worship of dead gods." See Literary Appendix for further details.

[2] For the evidence, see Literary Appendix.

directly the existence of a work styled the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*. But it does so indirectly, by indicating just those conditions which explain the origin of our *Didaché*, namely a time when the true Apostolic tradition was beginning to suffer eclipse owing to the death of the first witnesses themselves. The full strength of this position, however, can only be felt as our exposition of the document and the epoch proceeds step by step.

Part II., of our *Didaché* (Chh. vii.–xvi.), then, is a manifesto of the true Apostolic tradition, issued in the earlier days of that period of degeneracy described in darker colors by the unknown apocalyptic writer about 64–68. These days would coincide roughly with the years 60–68, during which the original Apostles—a Paul, a James, a Peter—were fast passing off the scene, as also the original local "leaders who spake the Word of God" to the Churches (Heb. xiii. 7). The need of the time was for something that should confirm faith, already a good deal perplexed by the departure of the original witnesses, in the truth of its traditional beliefs and usages. And what better confirmation could there be, than a document having behind it the collective weight of the original Apostolic witnesses? As the life of the primitive Jerusalem community had rested on "the teaching of the Apostles, and the fellowship" which found formal expression in "the Breaking of Bread and the Prayers" (Acts ii. 42); so now, it was to be confirmed in these Syrian regions by the assurance that the best local teaching in conduct and in Church-life indeed represented the mind

of their Lord as echoed by the voices of His original Apostles.[1] And thus the *Didaché* sprang into being in much its present scope, embracing practical "teaching," the outlines of ecclesiastical institutions, and a fresh call to watchfulness—in spite of opposing tendencies—in the confidence that the Great Crisis could not now long be delayed.

We have seen the nature of the practical rule of life embodied in the *Two Ways:* and the re-publication of its simple ethics bears emphatic witness to the conservatism of the Judæo-Christian ideal.[2] But our present business is with the new elements found in Part II., which the analogy of Part I. should prepare us to regard as new in only a very limited sense. The bulk of them preëxisted as usage more or less definite, and indeed stereotyped in the case of Baptism and the Eucharistic meal, as also of the liturgic formulæ associated therewith. As these liturgical elements (vii.–x.) largely reflect past usage, antecedent even to 62 A. D., while the rest of what follows (xi.–xvi.) has regard rather to the new crisis and the expected future, we may treat the whole in two sections broadly styled Liturgical and Ecclesiastical.

§ 1. *Liturgical: Didaché, vii.–x.*

The second part of the *Didaché* begins most fittingly with a reference to entrance into the Spiritual

[1] Of course the *Didaché* was only indirectly apostolic, *i. e.*, issued by certain Syrian disciples of apostles as a true account of their general teaching. Indeed it makes no higher claim for itself.

[2] Even the more Evangelic precepts now found in i. 3–5, were probably added after 70 A. D.

Israel through Baptism. Its subjects are those already instructed in the duties of their new state, as set forth in the "Two Ways."

"Now as touching Baptism, thus shall ye baptize. Having first recited all these things (the 'Two Ways'), baptize ye in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit in living (running) water. (But if *thou* hast not living water, baptize in other water; and if thou canst not in cold, then in warm. But if thou hast neither [*i. e.*, in sufficient quantity.], pour water on the head *thrice* in the name of Father and Son and Holy Spirit). But before the baptism let him that baptizeth and him that is baptized fast, and any others who can. (And thou shalt bid him that is baptized to fast one or two days beforehand)."

Here the noteworthy features of the section, in its original state,[1] are: first the address to the local church as a whole, not to a special ministrant; and next, the use of the threefold Name. The former point implies that the *Ecclesia* itself authorized admission to its own membership, the ministrant being

[1] The more special provisions, here put in brackets, look like later amplifications meant to keep the manual up to date, possibly also to adjust it to climatic and other conditions different from those of its original home. (1) Note change from the plural to the singular address (*i. e.*, to the ministrant—as *Apost. Const.* vii. 22 throughout the section). (2) The threefold act, symbolic of the threefold Name, occurs only incidentally, in connection with one of three special cases, not with the general injunction at the beginning; *i. e.*, both features are later additions. (3) In the second mention of the baptismal Name, the definite articles, found before each member in the first instance, disappear. This probably represents the liturgical use of another time and place. Thus the *Clementine Homilies* (early third century?) xi. 26, 35, have this form and also the feature next named: *cf.* also iii. 73, xiii. 9, 11, xiv. 1, and the *Acts of Barnabas* (early second century?) ch. 13. (4) The very specific charge to the candidate to fast "one or two days" previously, seems like an afterthought. The connection is better without it.

ignored as simply instrumental: and the significance of the idea is indicated by the care which the *Apostolical Constitutions* (iv. century) took to change the phraseology. The occurrence of the Triune name is most noteworthy, if this part of the *Didaché* really belongs to about 65 A. D. and may be taken as an index of North Syrian usage in some circles at least. For if so, it is probably our earliest witness to the use of this formula in baptism, not excepting the closing verses of St. Matthew. It is not only that this gospel cannot be assigned to a date much before 70 A. D.; but, apart from this, none of the cases of baptism alluded to in Acts and in the Epistles show any trace of the use of such a formula. They suggest rather some simple form of confessed allegiance to Jesus as Christ or Lord. Nor have we any reason to suppose that this simpler usage was speedily replaced by the other. In the Epistle of Barnabas, a work written within some ten years of the *Didaché*, we read: "we descend into the water laden with sins and filth, and go up from it bearing fruit in the heart, resting in spirit our fear and hope on Jesus" (xi. 11). And we get a similar impression from Hermas, writing in the first half of the second century. "For before a man bears the name of the Son of God, he is dead. But whene'er he receives the seal he lays aside deadness and assumes life. Now the seal is the water."[1]

In view of all this and also of a phrase further on, "those baptized unto the Lord's name," one might be tempted to suppose that the present formula has

[1] *Similitude*, ix. 16.

displaced an older one in our *Didaché*. But this would be needless, since the probable dates of it and our Matthew are close enough together to make it quite likely that a usage witnessed by the latter, say about 68–75, existed already in the circle of the former some few years earlier. First appearance in literature very seldom means first appearance in fact. And this conclusion is strengthened by the occurrence, in the very next section, of the Lord's Prayer in a form akin to, but not identical with, that found in Matthew. The section in question runs as follows:

"But let your fasts not be along with the hypocrites (*i e.*, the unbelieving Jews); for they fast on the second (Monday) and fifth day (Thursday); but do ye fast on the fourth (Wednesday) and on the Preparation day (Friday).[1] Neither pray ye as the hypocrites; but as the Lord bade in His Gospel so pray ye: Our Father, etc. . . . Thrice in the day so pray ye."

To take the central point first. We have here a version of the Lord's Prayer strongly agreeing with Matthew's form (as compared with Luke's), but yet so differing in minor details as to negative the likelihood of direct dependence thereon. For it must be remembered that in a familiar form of prayer even minor differences cannot be dismissed as slips of

[1] Fasting as an aid to prayer and a condition of its greatest efficacy was very common in later Judaism and among many of the early Christians: see Luke ii. 37 (the case of Anna), Acts xiii. 2, 3, xiv. 23; cf. 2 Cor. vi. 5; and later, Polycarp, vii. 2, "being sober unto prayers and persevering in fastings," Hermas, *Vis.* iii. 10, 6. In this connection the interpolated references to fasting in the *Textus Receptus* of Matt. xvii. 21 (Mark ix. 29), Acts x. 30, and 1 Cor. vii. 5, are also instructive.

memory.[1] We must not build too much on the presence of a Doxology at the end differing from that found in the Authorized Version (but rightly omitted in the Revised) in the omission of "the Kingdom." For Doxologies are apt to creep in from later usage, as happened in the case of our Matthew. Yet the recurrence of practically the same Doxology in the two Eucharistic prayers soon to be cited, suggests that it is original here also. If so, the whole Prayer is given as it was then used in private devotions, three times a day, as well as in public worship.[2] Nor do the words which introduce the prayer point the other way. If by "His Gospel" had been meant a written gospel, we should have had, not "as the Lord bade" (ἐκέλευσεν), but "bids," His voice being perpetuated in the written word. But this does not settle the question whether a written record of the Lord's sayings was or was not in use at the place and time concerned. To this we must return later.

We now come to sections of great interest, those dealing with the current Eucharist usages and the ideas therein implied.

"But as touching the giving-of-thanks, ('Eucharist'), after this manner give thanks. First, as regards the cup: 'We give

[1] Note "debt" (τὴν ὀφειλὴν) instead of "debts" (τὰ ὀφειλήματα), where Luke also differs, having "sins." These all probably represent a single Semitic original: but they mean distinct lines of Greek tradition.

[2] The other variations are, "heaven" for "heavens" (so characteristic of Matthew), "forgive" (ἀφίεμεν, cf. Luke's ἀφίομεν) for "have forgiven" (ἀφήκαμεν), and ἐλθάτω for ἐλθέτω.

Thee thanks, our Father, for the holy Vine of David Thy servant, which Thou madest known to us through Jesus Thy Servant. To Thee be the glory forever (unto the ages).' And as regards the bread (broken bread, *κλάσμα*): 'We give Thee thanks, our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou madest known to us through Jesus Thy Servant. To Thee be the glory forever. As this piece of bread was once scattered (as grain) upon the top of the mountains (cf. Ps. lxxii. 16) and then being gathered together became one, so may Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy Kingdom. For Thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ forever.' But let no one eat or drink of your Thanksgiving meal, save those baptized unto the Lord's name: for regarding this also the Lord hath said, 'Give not that which is holy to the dogs.' And after being satisfied ('filled'), thus give ye thanks: 'We give Thee thanks, Holy Father, for Thy holy name, which Thou hast enshrined (made to tabernacle) in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which Thou madest known to us through Jesus Thy Servant. To Thee be the glory forever. Thou, Master Almighty (*Δέσποτα παντοκράτορ*), didst create the universe for Thy Name's sake, didst give both food and drink to men to enjoy, that they might give Thee thanks; but to us Thou hast graciously given spiritual food and drink and life eternal through Thy Servant. Before all things we give Thee thanks that Thou art powerful: to Thee be the glory forever. Remember, Lord, Thy Church, to deliver it from all ill and to perfect it in Thy love; and gather it together from the four winds, the hallowed (Church), into Thy Kingdom which Thou preparedst for it.[1] For Thine is the power and the glory forever. Let grace come (cf. 1 Pet. i. 13), and let

[1] For this aspect of the Kingdom as future cf. Matt. xxv. 34, 2 Peter i. 11, and the unidentified quotation in 1 Cor. ii. 9. Its nature is described in *iv Ezra* ii. 10–13. "Tell My people that I will give them the kingdom of Jerusalem, which I would have given unto Israel. Their glory also will I take unto Me, and give these the everlasting tabernacles which I had prepared for them. They shall have the Tree of life for an ointment of sweet savor: they shall neither labor nor be weary. Ask, and ye shall receive: pray for few days unto you, that they may be shortened: the Kingdom is already prepared for you: watch."

this world pass away. Hosanna to the God of David. If any is holy, let him come: if any is not, let him repent. Maran Atha ("Our Lord cometh," cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 22). Amen.' But to the prophets give license to render thanks as much as they will."

Before proceeding to comment on these prayers, it may be well to lay beside the closing passage relative to the church's consummation another of somewhat similar tenor, inserted by some Judæo-Christian hand in iv Ezra ii. 33 ff. "Arise up and stand, and behold the number of those that be sealed in the Feast of the Lord; they that withdrew them from the shadow of the world have received glorious garments [*i. e.*, Baptismal Righteousness] of the Lord. Receive thy number, O Sion, and make up the reckoning of those of thine that are clothed in white, which have fulfilled the Law of the Lord. The number of thy children, whom thou longedst for, is fulfilled: beseech the power of the Lord, that thy people, which have been called from the beginning, may be hallowed" (38–41). The reference of this is quite obvious in the light of the opening words: "O ye nations, that hear and understand, look for your Shepherd. He shall give you everlasting rest: for He is near at hand, that shall come in the end of the world." Sion is here the ideal City of the Saints, in which they, of whatever clime or race, have their citizenship. The idea is akin to that in Psalm lxxxvii. 6. "The Lord shall count, when He writeth up the peoples, this one was born there."

So, too, in our *Didaché* the Old Testament associations are quite obvious. It is "the God of David"

that is praised for the coming Kingdom: the Kingdom itself is still conceived as a perfected Jewish theocracy, no less than at Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem (Matt. xxi. 9; Mark xi. 9), though on more spiritual and universal lines. Palestine, that is, is the centre to which in a new world-order the Saints are to be gathered together, unto the glorious Messianic Kingdom foreshadowed in Daniel vii. 13 f., 27 and many another Old Testament Scripture, some of which had spoken of a gathering from the ends of the earth and from the four winds of heaven (Deut. xxx. 4; Is. xxvii. 13; Zech. ii. 6). And the tone of the references, to David in particular, makes it likely that such prayers reflect the aspirations of Syrian Judæo-Christians before rather than after the Fall of Jerusalem, which put Davidic associations into the background.

From this standpoint we can render satisfactory account of the most difficult phrase in these prayers, that namely in which thanks are rendered for "the holy Vine of David" revealed through Jesus. This cannot possibly mean Jesus Himself as Messiah; for He is described instrumentally as God's "servant" (*παῖς*), exactly as in the early chapters of Acts (iii. 13, 26, iv. 27, 30)—the phrase in either case pointing to the "Servant of Jehovah" in the later part of Isaiah (*e. g.*, xlii. 1, in LXX.). But if we turn to Psalm lxxx. 8 ff. we find Israel called God's Vine; and God is entreated to look down from heaven and visit it, "and the stock which (*or*, maintain that which) Thy right hand hath planted, and the branch (lit. "Son") that Thou madest strong for Thyself.

. . . Let Thy hand be upon the man of Thy right hand, upon the Son of man whom Thou madest strong for Thyself." In this fountain-head of the simile, one notices the close blending of the collective and personal such as would inevitably suggest to Jews in the first century a highly Messianic way of taking the passage. And there were other passages of the same type. "Let me sing for my Well-beloved a song of my Beloved[1] touching His vineyard. . . . For the vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel, and the men of Judah the plant of His delight." "And I will raise up unto them a plant for renown. . . . And ye, My sheep, the sheep of My pasture, are men, and I am your God, saith the Lord God."[2] Again, just above we read: "I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even my servant David. . . . And I the Lord will be their God, and My servant David prince among them."[3]

In view of such Old Testament usage we may be sure that the "Vine of David" meant, to those who framed and used this prayer, the true sound stock of Israel[4] (*i. e.*, the Messianic element in it), a favorite

[1] "Beloved" is *the* title for Christ in *Ascensio Isaiæ*.

[2] Isaiah v. 1, 7; Ezekiel xxxiv. 29 ff.

[3] A most valuable link between these Old Testament passages and our Judæo-Christian prayers is afforded by a great Messianic expression of pious Judaism about the beginning of the Christian era, *Psalms of Solomon*, xvii. There the Davidic King and God's Kingdom are very closely bound up together.

[4] In literature of the early second century, in Hermas, *Vis.* v., we have the parable of the Vineyard (God's People) and the faithful Servant (Jesus Christ) who devotes Himself to its welfare. Yet more akin is the archaic opening of Book i. of the Syrian *Di-*

idea with Isaiah. And just as in the later part of that book the sense of the "Servant of Jehovah" hovers between the collective being of ideal Israel and some chosen Servant through whom it realizes its calling, so must it have been to these Jewish Christians. The *Messianic Kingdom* itself was to them the Vine of David, the Davidic Theocracy; and Jesus was the Chosen One through whom it had been revealed and was yet to be consummated. In other words, we have the standpoint of the prayers in the early chapters of Acts stereotyped in these archaic petitions.[1] Yet it is probable that it was through the medium of current Apocalyptic writings that the actual phrase "the Vine of David" came naturally to those who used the Eucharistic prayers of the *Didaché*. Thus in the *Book of Enoch* Israel is "the Plant of Righteousness" (x. 16). In the *Apocalypse of Baruch* (xxxix. 7) we read that in the latter days "the principate of My Messiah will be revealed, which is like the Fountain and the Vine [already described]; and when it is revealed it will root out the multitude of his host" [*i. e.*, the power of Rome]. Here then we have the source of this otherwise perplexing expression. And to

daskalia—"God's plant (Matt. xv. 13) and His elect Vineyard are they who have believed on His guileless religion . . . co-heirs and co-sharers with His beloved Servant (*παῖς*)."

[1] Both here and in Acts iv. 24 God the Almighty "Master" (*Despotés*, found also in Symeon's Jewish prayer, Luke ii. 29, and in the prayer in Rev. vi. 10); and Jesus is "Thy (holy) Servant" (*lit.* "child"). Also in Acts iii. 19 ff. Jesus, as the Christ, is the "Prophet" of the Kingdom, the "Servant" raised up and sent "to bless Israel in turning every one from his sins," so turning it into the true Messianic Israel.

render this solution complete, we have only to observe that in the *Ascension of Isaiah* the Church is definitely styled "the Plant which the twelve Apostles of Beloved planted."[1]

In dealing with this crucial point at some length we have cleared the way for a brief treatment of other points in these remarkable prayers. Thus the whole symbolism of the Cup conforms to the notion of the Vine whose life-blood is therein typified. It was felt that in drinking of the one Cup they were sharing in common the very life-element of the Kingdom. As we may gather from the title *Agapé* or "Love-meal," given in some quarters[2] to the Sacred meal of Thanksgiving (Eucharist) in keeping with the New Commandment that accompanied its institution, the Vine's life-blood was Love. So, then, the Cup was indeed "a loving cup," passed round among the brethren as symbol of their one life rooted in the Christ and renewed at such seasons of communion with one another and with Him in the Spirit. And this is just the idea of the Cup which meets us in the passage where Paul expresses the kindred thought of the Kingdom as a spiritual organism—the mystical Christ, constituted by Jesus Christ and His members. Believers are not only

[1] This explanation removes the notion of dependence upon the allegory of the Vine in John xv. Though the thought is in substance the same—the Vine (Messianic Kingdom) including both Messiah as stock and the Saints as branches—yet a Johannine tradition cannot be here discerned as operative.

[2] Jude 12 (? 2 Pet. ii. 13). We must not assume that all the names for this Sacred Meal were used everywhere: probably each reflects a distinct aspect of it as conceived by Jewish and Gentile Christians, and even in different localities.

"in one Spirit all baptized into one Body"; they are also "all made to drink one Spirit" (1 Cor. xii. 13, cf. x. 4). In similar fashion, the Bread represents the food of the Kingdom, the life-giving knowlege or truth revealed in Jesus. As God had given to men at large food for the body, so to His own children the Holy Father had given in grace "spiritual food and drink and life eternal through His Servant." What is ever before their minds is the wonder of the "knowledge[1] and faith and immortality" opened up to them for the first time in Jesus. And the core of it all was God's new name of Father, "Holy Father," deep enshrined in every heart.

Here we seem to feel ourselves in familiar atmosphere, that of certain parts of John's Gospel, particularly chapter vi., where Christ, *i. e.*, His spiritual nature conveyed by His words made "spirit and life," is the Bread of Life. Snatches also of the High-Priestly prayer in John xvii. occur to the mind. But on closer inspection the differences are fully as striking as the affinities. There is nothing here of "the flesh and blood of the Son of Man"; indeed there is no thought of Jesus as Himself the Bread. Again the ruling note of John xvii. is the Sonship of Jesus; here we have rather "Jesus Thy Servant," parallel with "David Thy servant." Yet this does not exclude a certain real community between these prayers and the Johannine tradition, which must have begun to enter into the store of Christian speech and thought long before it was embodied in

[1] Cf. Luke i. 77, "to give knowledge of Salvation unto His people, in the remission of their sins."

the Gospel.[1] It is most probable that John, as well as Peter, early began to contribute his special quota, determined by the special receptivity of his soul, to the store of his Master's great sayings. And we have evidence in the letters of Ignatius of Antioch (c. 115 A. D.) that the Johannine tradition had a strong and by no means recent hold upon the regions of North Syria in the beginning of the second century.

The reader may already have noticed that the order in which the Eucharistic prayer alludes to the Cup and the Bread is unusual: and he might perhaps suppose it due to inadvertence.[2] But reflection will speedily convince that in a church manual, reflecting usage and continuing to influence usage, such an explanation is quite out of the question. It must correspond to the usage in the region where the *Didaché* took shape, and probably in the church or churches in which these liturgical forms of prayer had earlier grown up. Nor is it an isolated phenomenon. It is implied as the usage familiar to the author of our third Gospel. For the words usually read in Luke xxii. 19^{b}–20 are omitted in a group of authorities[3] not at all given to omissions; and verse 20 by its very contents betrays its origin as a later composite insertion (based on 1 Cor. xi. 25^{a} and Mark xiv. 24^{b}), since it overloads the Institution

[1] The term "Holy Father" may well come from the first complete clause of the Lord's Prayer.

[2] For the connection of this order with the nature of the Last Supper, see chapter on *Church Fellowship*.

[3] The oldest so-called "Western" authorities, which might more truly be called "primitive Syrian."

with *two* cups in its anxiety to assimilate Luke to the two parallel accounts. But this being so, we learn that in the region represented by the *Didaché* and St. Luke (which we may say outright was probably also North Syrian or Antiochene), the traditional account of the Last Supper contained no explicit reference to the meaning of the Cup. It was simply referred to as "the fruit of the Vine," so that the way was quite open for the reference to "the Vine of David" which the *Didaché* saw therein. In Luke's narrative the only hint of the thought in the Saviour's mind is the glance forward to the coming of the Kingdom of God—wherein, as the preceding context suggests, a greater Feast of Deliverance than the Paschal Feast shall yet find fulfilment. Yet there is no word recorded in Luke or in the *Didaché* connecting the Feast unmistakably with His death, either as redemptive or as condition of the future efficacy of similar sacred or memorial meals. This silence, when first noticed, comes with a shock of surprise. Nor is the surprise lessened in one sense, when we observe that it is characteristic of all that we know of the early Judæo-Christian attitude toward the Cross: but to this we must revert in a later connection.

The Cup and Bread, then, are in these prayers taken simply as symbols of the spiritual drink and food of the Messianic Community or Church. Love, springing from knowledge of the Holy Father, was the central thought and created one of the titles of this the Lord's Meal (as Paul calls it), the *Agapé* or Love-Meal. It was also symbolized by the Kiss of Peace which Justin Martyr tells us preceded the

act of Communion. And where love is, there also is joy. Hence the prayers breathe the exultant spirit emphasized in Acts (ii. 46) as breaking forth at the social meals of the believing Jews. Joy was regarded as the outcome of the new wine of David's Holy Vine, into which they had been incorporated by repentance and baptism.[1] Similarly in the Bread they saw the symbol of the food of higher life and knowledge, a knowledge of the Divine will that had been the food of Messiah Himself (Matt. iv. 4; John iv. 34).

But while thus "making Eucharist" for the bread as symbol of the soul's food, the gift of new revelation, the preoccupation of their minds with the Hope of consummated Salvation (cf. Rom. viii. 24 f.) led them to see in the Bread an allegory of the Church's ingathering from its scattered condition unto the state of rest and bliss of the Earthly Paradise. For it was on the lines of glowing prophetic imagery, as developed by intervening Apocalyptic reflection, that they loved to imagine the perfected

[1] For the idea of Messiah's Cup as meaning a share in the Messianic experience or life, note the striking words: "The cup that I drink, ye shall drink" (Mark x. 39). And for the conception of Messiah as the elder brother in God's Holy Ecclesia, leading it into fulness of loyalty and praise, attention is directed to the passage, little noticed because its underlying thought has grown unfamiliar to us, in which *Hebrews* (ii. 11 ff.) speaks of Jesus as Son of Man. "For which cause He is not ashamed to call them brethren, saying, *I will declare Thy name unto my brethren, in the midst of the Congregation will I sing Thy praise.* And again, *I will put my trust in Him;* and again, *Behold, I and the children which God hath given me.*" In this atmosphere the prayers of the *Didaché* begin to live and move.

Kingdom of God. It was this that floated before their vision when they prayed, "Thy Kingdom come, Thy will come to pass, as in heaven, so on earth"—*i. e.*, in unhindered and glorious manifestation. For this they were watching and waiting: with it was to come the "immortality" for which they groaned. The ground and guarantee of its coming, in spite of all the antagonistic forces of "this world"—to all seeming so overwhelming—was the absolute might of the All-Sovereign Master of the universe. Hence their fervent and emphatic "Eucharist" for "that Thou art Powerful."[1] Nor is one unburdening of their hearts on this great theme enough. In one and the same Eucharistic Service they return to it again ere closing; and the strain of earnest longing rises to a passionate fugue of ejaculatory petitions for the full advent of Grace and the doing away of the World-order that was its foe all along the line. Their final consolation is, "Hosanna, David's God shall yet reign!"

There are some who think that in these prayers, as in other respects, the *Didaché* is a sort of "hole and corner" document, the local ideal of a "shrunken orthodoxy." If any special refutation of this theory were necessary, it is to be found in the bare literary history of the work in its various recensions. It had in fact very great vogue. It was being copied down to the latter part of the fourth century, when it was adapted to the standards of a more developed orthodoxy in the Seventh book of the *Apostolical*

[1] As in Apoc. i. 8, iv. 8 ff., v. 10, vii. 12, where the proud and menacing forces of evil are seen to be evanescent.

Constitutions. But what has been said and what yet remains to say of its intimate affinities with certain parts of the New Testament, might of itself convince us that it was a highly characteristic product of the Judæo-Christianity of the Apostolic Age.

§ 2. *Ecclesiastical: Didaché xi.–xvi.*

The best introduction to the second part of the *Didaché* is furnished by a Christian section added, about 64–68,[1] to the Jewish Apocalypse known as the *Ascension of Isaiah;* though the picture there given is one of more developed degeneracy than is implied in any part of our *Didaché*. The gist of it is as follows: Men who lay claim to heavenly wisdom, as Spirit-filled prophets, are in fact often "lovers of gifts" gained by messages acceptable to individuals. This spirit of worldly gain and honor infects also the regular ministry of the churches, their elders and pastors, whose rivalry breeds bitter hates. A spirit of error and impurity and vainglory and love of money is abroad among Christians, and great ill-will and back-biting. The Holy Spirit is largely quenched. Only here and there is there a true prophet; while in their selfhood most neglect the old prophetic traditions and utter their own interested ebullitions. All this marks the dark hour before the dawn. But during its final moments will be manifested a truly Satanic *régime*, possessing as its centre and head a man that is the very incarnation of evil, backed by supernatural power. This stage is already being reached

[1] This date is justified in the *Literary Appendix*, in which its text is cited.

in the opinion of the interpolator of the *Ascension of Isaiah*, writing A. D. 64–68.

The contents of *Didaché* xi.–xvi., which reflect the situation in North Syria about this time, are as follows:

As touching teachers, and particularly Apostles and Prophets (xi.): As touching stranger Brethren (xii.): As touching a Prophet or Teacher settling in a church (xiii.): As touching the purity of the Eucharist (xiv.): As touching election of Bishops and Deacons (xv.): As touching the Last Days (xvi.).

The foregoing instruction, especially the ideal of life set forth in the "Two Ways," is treated as standard of a teacher's soundness. If any "turns round and teaches another teaching to the undoing" of this, he is not to be heard. But if his teaching "tends to *add* righteousness and knowledge of the Lord" of the like sort, "receive him as the Lord." Here we see the serious way in which the Lord was felt to speak in those animated by His Spirit—a mode of thought which runs through early Church life, moulding it in many ways. Of such Spirit-anointed men the chief were known as "Apostles and prophets"; and the description of them sheds a flood of light on the incidental references to the same classes in the New Testament.[1] "But with regard to the apostles and prophets, according to the rule of the Gospel, so do ye. Let every apostle coming to you be received as the Lord. But he

[1] 1 Cor. xii. 28 *f.*; Rom. xvi. 7; Eph. ii. 20, iii. 5, iv. 11; Acts xiv. 14, cf. xiii. 1; Rev. ii. 2.

shall not remain more than one day; yet if there be need, the next also; but if he stay three days, he is a false prophet (*i. e.*, not disinterested). And when he departeth, let the apostle take nought save bread to last till he reach lodging: and if he ask money, he is a false prophet."

An apostle, then, is clearly a divinely-called missionary, whose work is primarily of a pioneer order; such as that of the brethren described in John's third Epistle (5–7). Being thus birds of passage, they were liable to the vices which threaten a detached and irresponsible vocation: and experience had already proved that the original impulse which sent them forth did not always avail to keep them pure in motive. They are, however, as yet far from being a discredited order. In their free, informal ministry, and in the undefined powers which they enjoyed in breaking fresh ground, their analogue is the pioneer missionary of all times; only here there was as a rule no church or society that sent them forth. Their gift (*Charisma*) was their empowering commission. How long their activity continued on these lines in some regions, we learn from a passage in which Eusebius describes the activity of men whom he calls Evangelists, who took the place of the apostles in the latter part of the first century.

Next to them in repute, and differing from them mainly as more localized in the range of their ministry, were the prophets, also marked out for their functions by special *charism*. Theirs it was to "speak in (the) Spirit," *i. e.*, with inspired spontaneity. Their own volition was thought to be in abeyance, so that

God literally spake through them and challenged the obedience of believers. Hence we read: "No prophet while speaking in (the) Spirit shall ye try or judge. For every sin shall be forgiven; but this sin (*i. e.*, against the Holy Spirit) shall not be forgiven." One recalls the words, "Quench not the Spirit, despise not prophesyings." But experience had shown the need of a test of the proper kind, namely of conduct, to which they were as amenable as others. "Yet not every one that 'speaketh in (the) Spirit' (*i. e.*, in the style of such utterance) is a prophet, but only if he have the Lord's ways. From their ways, then, shall be recognized the false prophet and the prophet. And no prophet in prescribing a Table (*i. e.*, a Love-Feast) shall eat of it; else is he a false prophet." Such a precaution has in view ill-living teachers such as meet us also in the *Ascension of Isaiah* and Jude. Again, "whosoever saith in (the) Spirit, Give me money or any other things, him ye shall not heed: but if he say concerning others in need, that aught be given, let none judge him."

So much for one form in which prerogative was liable to abuse. Another prerogative that was beginning to cause some scandal, is alluded to in a provision at first sight obscure. "No prophet, ap proved genuine, shall be judged at your bar for an act by way of an earthly mystery of the Church, if he teach not (others) to do all that he himself doth. For with God hath he his judgment: since in like manner did also the ancient prophets." That is, Christian prophets equally with those of the Old Testament, were apt to do things startling, nay even

suspicious, as object-lessons in heavenly realities. In so doing a real prophet was to have a very free hand —even where delicacy might have stepped in to check others—so long as he confined such symbolic action to himself and did not try to involve others therein. The danger was the greater in the type of symbolism specified, namely that bodying forth the Church and the mystery of heavenly love.

Though prophets often travelled about among the churches of a region, as having a precious gift in trust for all, yet if a true prophet wished to settle in a given church he was to be counted "worthy of his meat." And the like held good of the third order of *Charismatic* persons named in the *Didaché* (as in 1 Cor. xii. 28; cf. Acts xiii. 1), Teachers, men of reflective rather than original or spontaneous insight.[1] Both classes are entitled to the first-fruits in kind,[2] which would under the Old Covenant have gone to the Levitic priesthood; but particularly the prophets, "for they are your chief-priests." Then in a sequence exactly recalling *Ecclesiasticus* (vii. 31, 32), it is added: "But if ye have not a prophet, give to the poor instead," a precept linked to the foregoing by the sentiment found in Polycarp, that the widows are "God's altar."

Next, as to ordinary brethren coming as strangers to a church, the rule is that such should first be wel-

[1] What the Apostolic age would, perhaps, have called ethical "Wisdom" (*σοφία*), in contrast to theoretic "Knowledge" (*γνῶσις*), to use the language of 1 Cor. xii. 8, cf. xiii. 2.

[2] So Gal. vi. 6. "Let him that is under instruction in the word communicate to his instructor in all goods of life."

comed in virtue of the Lord's Name,[1] but that some sort of moral scrutiny should then be exercised; for "ye shall have an all-round prudence. If, then, the comer is a wayfarer, help him as far as you can. Yet shall he not remain with you more than two or three days, if need be. But if he is for settling among you, being a craftsman, let him work and eat. If, however, he hath no craft, according to your prudence ye shall provide how that a Christian shall not live in idleness with you. But if he refuses so to do, he is one that maketh merchandise of Christ. Beware of such." This temper, truly fraternal and yet chastened by experience unto a thoughtfulness far from other-worldly, is admirably illustrated from a document of much later date but embodying the conservative type of life in these Syrian regions, the so-called *Epistle of Clement to James*.[2] There Elders are bidden to find for those without a craft an ostensible means of livelihood by employment; and the terse maxim is enunciated, "For the craftsman work, for the infirm alms" (lit. "mercy"). And, no doubt, in this part of the *Didaché* too, it is the seniors of each church, as distinct from the juniors, that are mainly addressed.

We pass next to the section setting forth the conditions of a pure and acceptable Eucharistic gathering. "And on the Lord's 'Lord's Day' (a strange

[1] The attitude is just that recorded by Josephus of the Essenes towards brethren from a distance. And as yet there is no sign of letters of introduction or recognized tokens (*tesseræ*) as in use.

[2] It is probable that its author knew the *Didaché*. But its expanded form often proves at least a good commentary.

phrase marking it sharply off from the Jewish Sabbath) assemble and break bread and make Eucharist, having already confessed your transgressions that your sacrifice may be pure." These words give in authentic fashion the primitive conception of the Christian Sacrifice, namely self-oblation in one's gift to God, an oblation whose value depends upon the moral state of the offerer, particularly in relation to his fellows. Its spirit is set forth in Matt. v. 21–24. There as here the profaning thing is ill-will, the negation of love. "If, then, thou art offering thy gift at the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave thy gift before the altar and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." The altar has changed, but the conception of the sacrifice or homage abides: and it is the transgression against man rather than the sin against God (which calls for private confession) that is emphasized as defiling the sacrifice of oneself and one's all to the Giver of all. Thus the "Shepherd" bids Hermas fast occasionally in order to help some destitute person with the proceeds of self-denial; then indeed "shall thy sacrifice[1] be acceptable with God" (*Sim.* V. iii. 8). In like spirit our manual repeats: "Let no one harboring his grudge against his fellow assemble with you, until they be reconciled, lest your sacrifice be profaned. For this is that which was spoken by the Lord: *In every place and time offer to Me a pure sacrifice; for a great King am I, saith the Lord, and My name is won-*

[1] *Ecclus.* xxxv. 2. "He that requiteth a good turn offereth fine flour; and he that giveth alms sacrificeth a thank-offering."

derful among the Gentiles." This quotation from Malachi i. 11, 14, became a stock proof-text for the Eucharistic sacrifice, the only type which Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with the Jew Trypho about the middle of the next century, recognizes as pleasing to God (*Dial.* 41, 117). And the question occurs, Who set the example of this application? Probably our *Didaché.* It is more than likely that it was known to Justin, a Syrian Christian to begin with; but further Irenæus seems to cite this passage as the fountain-head of his own usage. "Those who have closely studied the second[1] injunctions of the apostles are aware that the Lord instituted a new oblation in the New Covenant, in accordance with the saying of Malachi the prophet." Here the appeal is made, not to the Gospels, but to Apostolic tradition as the source of this Eucharistic doctrine; and the phraseology is such as to suggest a written source, in fact our *Didaché.* If this be so, it is a fresh proof how representative a writing the *Didaché* was for a century after its origin.

In close connection with this idea of the Christians' oblation of themselves as "a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God—a rational act of worship" (Rom. xii. 1), we get the first mention of special ministers in the community. "Elect, therefore, for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men meek and free from love of money and true and

[1] "Second injunctions" (*δευτέραι διατάξεις*), as coming after those which Irenæus (Fragm. 36, ed. Harvey) sees in Acts xv. 24 ff.; for he goes on to refer quite separately to Paul's teaching in Rom. xii. 1, (Heb. xiii. 15), and John's in Rev. v. 8.

attested. For unto you they minister, these also, the ministry of the prophets and teachers." A primary function, then, of the bishops and deacons of each church was to preside at its Eucharistic service, and to lead in the recitation of the liturgical prayers already given, always supposing no prophet was present within or without their body. Very noteworthy is the fact that both bishops and deacons are defined by the same set of qualifications, as though they were but senior and junior colleagues, differing in the actual parts taken in such ministry but not as yet divided into two distinct orders. In fact they differ much as the "prophets and teachers" with whom they are compared. The functions hinted at by the adjectives "meek" and so on, are those of discipline and administration of funds. Hence we may infer that these were their original duties, while yet they were gradually growing into something like a fixed place in the lead of Eucharistic worship, as prophetic gifts decreased in the churches. It is needful, then, to remind the brethren that these more ordinary men—less marked by gifts of grace than the prophets and teachers, who had hitherto taken the lead in the priesthood of representative prayer and thanksgiving (especially at *the* Thanksgiving)—are yet entitled to something like the same honor. "Therefore despise them not; for these are they that are your honored ones (*e. g.*, by the gifts of the people) along with the prophets and teachers."

The main reason for naming these officers at this point, must have been the part taken by them not so much in the Eucharist itself, as in the purification

of the brotherhood from all enmity previous to the act of Communion. For the manual continues: "But rebuke one another not in wrath but in peace, as ye have it in the Gospel; and with any at variance with his neighbor let none speak, or listen to him, until he repent." This means that before the Eucharist enquiry took place into all causes of discord, and efforts were made by remonstrance, first private and then public (according to Matt. xviii. 15–17), to reconcile the estranged parties; in order that the Kiss of Peace, which preceded the Communion meal, might be no profane mockery. In such scrutiny the official heads of the community would naturally play an increasing part, to prevent cases coming before the church as a whole in judicial session, as otherwise happened. This truly Christian work of arbitration between brethren is referred to in 1 Cor. v. 5 f., when as yet it was not reduced to any system. But we have in the Syrian *Didaskalia*, the more elaborate body of church ordinances which in the third century superseded the then too simple and archaic *Didaché*, a very vivid picture of a literal church-court, hearing cases between brethren under the presidency of its officers (see below, on *Discipline*).

The closing words of the ecclesiastical portion proper of the *Didaché* are:—"But your vows and alms and all your deeds so do, as ye have in the Gospel of our Lord." What then is meant by "the Gospel," several times referred to as norm or standard of action? Is it a written Gospel? Hardly. Were it so, then we should learn that there was only one "gospel" known in the region in question. But

even this is not so probable, because not so much in the manner of this early time, as that the Gospel as a message is meant throughout; as when Paul, for instance, speaks of Timothy as a minister of God "in the Gospel of the Christ." This will become clearer when we come to the origin of our Gospels.

The epilogue to the *Didaché* (ch. xvi.), whether it was originally part of an edition of about 62–68 A. D. or was appended a little later, is occupied with the Last Things; and has strong affinities with the earliest Christian literature of this order, particularly that shortly before and after 70 A. D. It is true that it has several points of contact with what Paul was expecting as early as the winter of 50–51 (2 Thess. i. 6–10, ii. 1–12). But it is with the views set forth in the Christian portion of the *Ascension of Isaiah* that it has most in common; and it, again, suggests those of the *Epistle of Barnabas* and the parts of the *Sibylline Oracles* that reflect feeling shortly after Nero's death. The great difference between its outlook and that common to these kindred writings, is the absence of all clear reference to Nero as the Man of Sin or Antichrist. Its description of the embodiment of forces antagonistic to the Kingdom of God, here called simply "the World-Deceiver," is on quite vague and traditional lines. And this, to judge from most of the pictures of Antichrist between the death of Nero and the end of the century, would not have been the case were the passage post-Neronian. For the Christians shared to the full the popular belief that Nero, so

superhuman, as it seemed, in the extravagances of every sort that marked his closing years, could not be dead and gone forever. He must be but in hiding for a season, perhaps among the Parthians; at any rate he would soon reappear to wreak vengeance on all his foes. We may take it, then, that our *Didaché* represents the Last Things as they appeared to North Syrian Christians between the death of James and the breaking out of the Jewish War, an event which could hardly fail to color in some degree any setting forth of the signs of the times between 68–70. Nero had already begun his final frantic course, which after the events of 64 must have riveted Christian attention; and so the moment of greater crisis was felt to be near.[1] At such an hour this manifesto of the received Apostolic tradition utters its closing words of warning.

"Watch on behalf of your life. Let not your lamps be quenched or your loins ungirt, but be ye in readiness; for ye know not the hour in which our Lord cometh. But assemble together constantly, seeking the things that concern your souls: since the whole time of your faith shall not profit you except in the last season ye be found perfected. For in the last days shall the false-prophets and the corrupters be multiplied, and the sheep shall turn to wolves and love shall turn to hate. For as Lawlessness increaseth they shall hate one another and shall persecute and deliver up; and then shall appear the World-Deceiver as Son of God, and shall do signs and wonders, and the earth shall be delivered into his hands, and he shall do abominations such as have never been in the world's history. Then shall the creature, humanity, come into the fiery ordeal of testing, and many shall be offended and shall perish: but they that endure in their faith shall be saved

[1] As in the Christian section of the *Ascension of Isaiah.*

by the very Curse itself.[1] And then shall appear the signs of the Truth: first the sign of an Outspreading in heaven, next the sign of a Trumpet-call, and third, the Resurrection of the dead—yet not of all, but as it is said 'The Lord shall come and all His saints with Him.' Then shall the world see the Lord coming upon the clouds of heaven."

The whole is drawn on quite different lines from those of our Gospels, though there is a certain parallelism of phrase in its opening words, due to familiarity with the Evangelic tradition. Its affinities are rather with St. Paul's earlier apocalyptic conceptions found in the Thessalonian epistles, and with other apocalyptic writings, Jewish and Christian. Thus the idea of three signs ushering in God's presence for salvation and judgment appears in the Sibylline Oracles. What, however, is the meaning of the first sign here called that of "outspreading in heaven"? The nearest verbal parallel is in Ecclesiasticus xliii. 14, where the phenomenon of clouds "flying forth as fowls" is described among tokens of the power of the Most High. Accordingly it is best to take the "flying forth" here in question as expressing either the coming of Messiah "with the clouds of heaven," according to Daniel, or the clouds of angels accompanying Messiah. The latter

[1] The alternative renderings of this enigmatic clause are: (1) to take it in the sense of Barn. viii. 6, which teaches that it will be in "evil and foul days" that the saints "shall be saved": or (2) to take the Curse to refer to the Christ, also after the manner of Barnabas (vii. 7, 9; cf. Gal. iii. 13), who treats the "accursed" goat (Lev. xvi. 8) as type of Jesus (calling attention to the fact that the accursed one was crowned with the scarlet wool), and imagines His Jewish enemies recognizing Him at His Coming by "the scarlet robe about His flesh." The latter is best.

view has the merit of making the three signs correspond with those of 1 Thess. iv. 14–16, namely "the revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven with angels of power" (cf. 2 Thess. i. 7), the archangel's trumpet-call, and the resurrection of "the dead in Christ," who with those alive on earth join the Lord in the sky.

This view is supported by the *Ascension of Isaiah*, which not only refers to "the angel of the Christian Church—which is in the heavens—who shall call in the last days," but says that "the Lord shall come with His angels and with the hosts of the saints from the seventh heaven, with the glory of the seventh heaven, and will commit to Gehenna Berial and his forces (cf. Rev. xix. 20). And He will give rest (cf. 2 Thess. i. 7; Heb. iv. 11) to such as He shall find in the body in this world, to wit the godly, even to all who for faith in Him execrated Berial and his kings." It is added that the saints in the Lord's train come clothed with heavenly vesture; and that when they join those yet on earth, the Lord stablisheth the latter in the vesture of saints (cf. Matt. xxii. 11 f.), and Himself ministers to them (Luke xii. 3) that have been watchful in this world. Afterwards they betake themselves upwards in their new vesture and leave their bodies in the world. In all this account, the amplifications prove that this apocalyptist is later than *Did. xvi.* and is perhaps expanding its hints.[1]

[1] The view that the "Outspreading in heaven" meant a vision of the Crucified returning with outspread arms—if it be really in the Sibylline Oracles at all, *e. g.*, viii. 302 [age of the Antonines],

From the same source we can illustrate the order of events, whereby the *Didaché* makes the Lord's coming to the world in judgment subsequent, immediately subsequent, to the rapture of the Saints. "Then shall the voice of Beloved chide in anger this heaven and this earth . . . and everything wheresoever Berial manifested himself and wrought openly in this world. And there shall be a resurrection and judgment in their midst in those days; and Beloved shall cause to arise out of it fire to consume all the ungodly;[1] and they shall be as if they had not been created."

In expectations such as these, amid dark and threatening clouds on which already faith could catch the glint of the glory and judgment soon to be revealed, did earnest Christians in North Syria live their life of obedience and patience during the Period of Transition between the withdrawal of the heroic figures of the past generation and the birth of a new era through the travail-pangs of the great crisis in Judæa in 66–70. The full bearings of the Destruction of the Holy City and its Temple could not, of course, at once be perceived. How much of the essential truth of their previous apocalyptic notions of the Return and Reign of Jesus as the Lord's Christ did this fulfil? How much, if anything, did it leave over unfulfilled? It was some time ere the new questions of this sort really began to dawn on the common consciousness. They felt it was a stu-

"He shall stretch forth His hands and shall embrace (measure) all the world" (in the description of the Crucifixion)—is certainly a secondary one: cf. Barn. xii. 2–4.

[1] Isaiah xi. 4; 2 Thess. i. 8, ii. 8.

pendous event that had occurred; that the Old Covenant had outwardly passed away. And so far, as well as in practical matters touching the relation of Jews and Gentiles in the Messianic *Ecclesia*, the air was cleared. But as regards the larger providential bearing of this catastrophe on the world-history of the Kingdom, its development and duration on earth, they at best "saw men as trees walking." Nor can it be said that the Christian Church has even yet attained to clear consciousness on the magnitude of the change of ideals involved in that Divine annulling of the hitherto prevalent assumption, namely that a bodily return of Messiah in judgment on His rejecters, and particularly the Jewish people, was the true goal of the Christian's Hope. For in this particular form of the hope a principle was involved, a way of conceiving God's Kingdom and the methods of its full realization on earth. And with the gradual falsification of that hope, its principle must itself be recognized to have given place to another more in keeping with the ways of God in history.

CHAPTER V.

THE EPISTLE OF JUDE AND II PETER.

E have already seen that the unsettlement among Syrian Christians between 60–70 A. D., unlike that in the churches of Asia Minor addressed in 1 Peter, was due largely to internal dissensions. Of the continuance of this state of things we find evidence in the epistle known as Second Peter and that by Jude. Both present special difficulties on account of their want of obvious points of contact with the known history of the Apostolic Age: but our study of the *Didaché* may have done something to supply the true background. The two epistles are more closely related than any other two in the New Testament. For the one clearly borrows from the other. But which is the more original? This literary problem is too complicated to discuss here, but is dealt with in the Literary Appendix. Suffice it to say that the priority of *Jude* to 2 Peter as it stands may be safely assumed; yet it is by no means certain that 2 Peter now appears in its original form. In these circumstances we must base our picture in the main upon Jude's statments, and must let it apply to the decade after 70 A. D., even more than to the years just before it.

The errorists in question erred mainly in matters of conduct. Even their denial of the Lord was prob-

ably that involved in participation in idol-feasts.[1] Yet a certain perverted theory underlay their practice. They defended their actions as allowed by that "grace" into which they had been brought by faith. They may even have quoted Pauline phrases to this purpose. Such a possibility had confronted St. Paul himself as early as 55 A. D., through his experiences at Corinth (Rom. vi. 1). But their peculiar notion of the bondage which they conceived themselves to have renounced for the "freedom" of the Gospel, is hinted at in the statement that their fleshly defilement was associated with a repudiation of "lordship" and a blaspheming of "glories." This is obscure to the modern reader only because he is not aware of the background of traditional and superstitious beliefs that existed from the first even in Christian minds, but were kept in abeyance as long as the power of fresh faith was unimpaired. Time, however, with its slow but potent alchemy gradually destroyed this relation between the old and the new. "The love of many waxed cold." The delay of the Lord's return had an unsettling effect, causing men to fall more and more under the sway of the ordinary forces of human nature and of society, and then by the aid of old beliefs to frame theories to explain and justify their practice.

In this case, it is the current view of the unseen world, as containing two hierarchies of angels, the bad and the good, each with its own laws of action

[1] "Ye cannot share in the table of the Lord and the table of demons" (1 Cor. x. 21). For the conjunction of this with unchastity, compare the Nicolaitans of Rev. ii. 14 f., 20, 24.

upon human life, that intrudes as a deflecting factor in the Christian consciousness. Already we have seen it at work at Colossæ in Paul's last days. Only here the same views work out in the opposite direction. Paul had to check the tendency to seek deliverance in life's moral conflict by reliance on good angelic beings, to checkmate the machinations of their evil doubles. Now certain men have lost the sound Christian instinct which feels fleshly lusts to be themselves the worst bondage. Being satisfied that their salvation was secured by their having been placed, once and for all in baptism, under the protection of Christ as supreme in the unseen world—so that the hierarchy of evil spirits can no longer touch them—they feel free to follow their own impulses, and to scoff at the "potentates" of ill whose "lordship" they had finally repudiated at baptism.[1] This gives us the key to the contrast which immediately follows, between their attitude to mighty spirits of ill and that of even the archangel Michael to the devil, as set forth in the apocryphal *Assumption of Moses*, a story innocently cited by the simple Galilean Jude, just as the *Book of Enoch* is cited as genuine four verses later.

Thus these men were not Gnostics, in the commonly understood sense, any more than certain of the Colossians were Gnostics. They did indeed con-

[1] We are not warranted in believing that the formal "renunciation of the devil and all his pomp" (*i. e.*, angelic hierarchy) was already a part of the baptismal rite. But this idea of its nature and effect was doubtless held in certain circles. The mode of thought, as an element in contemporary Judaism, is witnessed by the *Testament of Solomon*.

ceive salvation as "spiritual" in a physical rather than an ethical sense, a matter of the "dynasty" a man was under, rather than of the renewed will. What determined the exchange of realms was a kind of "knowledge," the sort of wisdom that we associate with the wizard. But beyond these general features, which marked 50–100 A. D. as much as 100–150 A. D., there is nothing Gnostic about these antinomians. Their affinities are rather with the Nicolaitans of provincial Asia as described in John's Apocalypse, men who held the moral indifference of actions for those "emancipated" by faith.[1] The general type was already discerned and described by Paul, in writing to Timothy at Ephesus of men "holding a form of godliness, but having denied the power thereof" (*i. e.*, by their moral practice, 2 Tim. iii. 5). Indeed what he says of their moral tone holds also of these men. For Jude calls them "murmurers, grumblers at their lot, walking after their (own) desires—and their mouth uttereth swelling words—showing respect of persons for the sake of advantage."

Behind such a description, taken along with other hints that imply the claim to play a leading part among the brethren, we may see more than appears on the surface; namely, a state of things similar to that which prompted the publication of the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles." "These," says Jude,

[1] The affinity is enforced by the analogy to Balaam's teaching in either case, "who taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block in the way of the children of Israel, even the eating of idol-meats and fornication" (Rev. ii. 14 f.).

"are they who are sunken reefs in your Love-feasts as they feast with you, shepherds, as it were, that boldly pasture themselves." Here our thoughts are carried back to the *Didaché* and its warnings against "prophets" who order, in the Spirit, a Love-feast for their own enjoyment. We even get fresh insight into its allusion to the possibility of a "prophet" conveying some lesson in a manner that would be unseemly in others. How liable to abuse, under the cloak of naïve Christian Love, the prophetic *carte blanche* at love-feasts must have been, one can well imagine, even without the hint which 2 Peter ii. 14, adds in borrowing Jude's words. And yet further light is thrown on the subject by John's denunciation of the "prophetess" Jezebel (Rev. ii. 20); with whom the parallel is the closer that she and her dupes boasted that their insight into "the deep things of Satan" exempted them from all harm from heathen conduct, in the way already explained.

It was this awful caricature of the Christian redemption (not from sin, but in sin) that the would-be "prophets," whom Jude has mainly in view, tried to impose on "the Saints." And it was the firm resistance which they met with, in the protests of the duly appointed local ministry, representing continuous Apostolic tradition in each church—mainly of a moral kind—which led them to complain bitterly of God as well as of man, touching their "hard fate" in not having their prophetic vocation recognized and deferred to. In these circumstances they proceeded to create separate coteries, in order to pander

to their own egoism, as if in disproof of their claim to the Spirit in a special degree (v. 19).

But as it was their utter lack of true love that gave the lie to their spurious spirituality; so too it was in such love, rooted in the love of God, that Jude saw the safety of sincere Christians. Such, "loved of God the Father and preserved in their calling by Jesus Christ," are referred for the secret of steadfastness to the holy nature of the faith[1] that lived in them as the basis of the new life, and to the Holy Spirit, through whose initial illumination they knew in germ all that was essential (20 f. cf. 5). Let them grow in insight by divinely prompted prayer, and walk humbly as those whose only ground of confidence lay in the mercy of their Lord Jesus Christ, on which they were waiting for eternal life. But Jude had himself drunk too deeply of his Lord's love to stop here. His heart yearns for the very men whose actual state he has been denouncing with all the passion that is the obverse of love to God and His ways. And so he urges his "beloved ones" to care for the souls that were on their way to "the blackness of darkness." Yet they must discriminate. Some, who are still wavering, are to be rebuked, to bring them to their senses; some, already in the fire, are to be snatched from it in haste; some, yet further gone, are to be approached with

[1] So 2 Peter i. 3 f., where Christians are "dowered with all requisite to life and piety, through full knowledge of Him who called them through (His own) glory and excellence;" whereby they are enabled to become "sharers in the Divine nature, escaping from the corruption in the world through desire."

solicitous pity and yet with due loathing for fleshly sin itself.

Whether this gradation of attitude towards different types of men implies knowledge of the "Two Ways" (*Did.* ii. 7) or not, it is certainly true that there is much affinity of tone between Jude's description of the false teachers—their self-seeking, their corrupting and divisive influence—and what we have in *Did.* xi. and xvi. In the latter passage, the eschatological exhortation, we read that the "last season" or "the last days" will be critical; for "false prophets and corrupters" will abound, and "the sheep will be turned into wolves and love will turn to hate." As a safeguard against these dangers, the faithful are bidden to "assemble together frequently." Similarly Jude follows up his summary of Apostolic warning (17 f.) by the remark, "these are they who cause separations" in the Christian society. These resemblances at least tend to locate Jude's readers in Syria, to the north of Palestine, the home of the *Didaché* and of the Christian part of the *Ascension of Isaiah* (c. 64–68). Such would naturally be addressed on the subject of "our common salvation" by one revered outside Palestine, as well as within it. For Jude was at once the surviving brother of the Lord and of James the Just, and a representative in that region of the collective Apostolic body. On the whole, then, we may date the Epistle about 70–80 A. D., to allow for the complete disappearance of the original Apostles from the region in question. So that in a transitional period, beginning about 60 A. D., and extending beyond 70 for some few years,

we may imagine Syrian Christianity harassed with a form of pagan antinomianism which probably tended not a little to hasten the development of church organization in those parts. Many of the facts, however, would fit almost equally into the conditions of provincial Asia, as known to us about the same period.

CHAPTER VI.

EARLY WRITTEN GOSPELS.

BEHIND all written Gospels lies the Gospel, the message of Jesus Christ and touching him. It was preached and taught long years before men thought of committing it to the unresponsive medium of dead papyrus. This method of propagation was the one most in keeping with the habits of the land of its birth, where "the traditions of the elders," referred to in our Gospels themselves, were handed on orally for centuries. The more sacred the deposit, the more this was felt to be the proper course. Specially must it have been so with a message so spontaneous, so vital and vitalizing, as the Gospel that was a word of power and life, attested and borne home by the manifest Spirit of God. And if another reason for its continued oral character be needed, it is found in the early Church's expectation of its Lord's return within the lifetime of the original eyewitnesses.

The problem, then, is rather this: How and why did the Evangelic tradition begin to pass into writing? We may be sure that none of the Apostles would dream of anything so formal as the reduction to fixed written form of their living memories, save at the suggestion of some great change in the conditions of their ministry. No doubt such a change would come about when one and another of the original disciples

began to drop out of the ranks by "falling on sleep," and the dwindling band of survivors awoke with a shock of surprise to the fact that the Kingdom was to come by a longer way than they had suspected. But even then the idea of perpetuating their witness in writing was by no means certain to occur: for it was already being continued in more or less fixed oral tradition. An early tradition, indeed, attributes to the Apostle Matthew the first Gospel writing, somewhere about 60–64 A. D. But it is very doubtful whether this really means more than that our first Gospel had come into the hands of men like Papias, c. 75–100, as embodying Matthew's witness. That witness would no doubt rest on a basis common to him with his fellow-Apostles and be fixed in its main features during the early days of their preaching, when they were living in close relations as a body of witnesses. But what is of special importance is the character of the memoirs. They were of Christ's words rather than His deeds: and it is for the sake of the words, the Sayings (*Logia*) of Jesus, on which he himself was publishing comments, that Papias alludes to Matthew as writing at all.[1] Christ's teaching was the most practical thing, as the basis of conduct: and accordingly it, rather than His life and

[1] "Matthew, then, in Hebrew compiled the Sayings: but each man had to interpret them as best he could." Papias' object was to substitute standard interpretations in place of amateur and often arbitrary exegesis. So in *Apost. Const.* i. 4, which represents an early state of things, men are bidden to "call to mind and meditate on the oracles (*Logia*) of the Christ"; and, just below, to "peruse carefully the Gospel," defined as "the complement" of the Old Testament writings.

deeds, first attracted attention. It was, in fact, the new Decalogue, the standard of Christian living and discipline (comp. the "Two Ways," the first part of the *Didaché*). While the stories of the Master's gracious and mighty life were prized as conveying inspiring ideas of His person and spirit, yet there precision was secondary; the broad, vivid impression sufficed. With the New Law it was otherwise: the very words were of moment, and churches were anxious to secure an exact knowledge of them.

Can we, however, imagine to ourselves the probable form of the primitive apostolic body of Christ's Sayings or *Logia?* To a certain degree we can. For when we observe that a large part of the Sayings in our *Matthew* have almost verbal parallels in *Luke*, we may conclude that such sayings preserve the form in which they were repeated in the instruction (*catechesis*) of the early Palestinian churches. Many would go farther and urge that these sayings once stood in a written book of Logia by Matthew.[1] Some even hold that the work contained a good deal of historic matter, needful as setting forth the sayings, which gave character to the whole. But the theory is rendered less persuasive by an analogy which has just come to light, and which proves that, in certain churches at least, collections of Jesus' Sayings strung together by the mere recurrence of a formula of quotation met a felt need. It shows an interest in the didactic apart from the historical side of the revelation in Christ. The collection in question is known

[1] The author's reasons for doubting this will appear in the art, *Matthew*, in Hastings' Dict. of the Bible, Vol. III.

to us only through a single leaf, the eleventh, which was dug up in Egypt on the site of Oxyrhynchus, a flourishing city in Roman times.[1] A probable view of the origin of this collection is that it presents one type of oral teaching or *catechesis* in local use, possibly at Alexandria, in the second Christian generation; for such of the sayings as echo discipular reflection, rather than the Master's original words, have most affinity with writings of that period. It does not seem to utilize our Gospels, so much as the same tradition (oral or written) as that upon which they are based.

The sayings are all put into the mouth of Jesus by the bare use of the formula, "Saith Jesus." This is very primitive: and yet it is unique (apart from dialogue, as sometimes in our Gospels), and has here a striking effect. For the present "saith," not "said," has a mystical force similar to that whereby the Risen Jesus addresses the Seven Churches in the book of Revelation, as the abiding Lord of mankind. This force has been well illustrated by Cowper's familiar couplet:

> "Jesus speaks, and speaks to thee,
> Say, poor sinner, lov'st thou Me?"

The dicta, then, are set forth as what Jesus is ever saying, in a timeless present of ideal verity and obligation, to the soul of man since the days of His

[1] *ΛΟΓΙΑ ΙΗΣΟΥ: Sayings of our Lord*, from an early Greek papyrus; discovered and edited by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt: 1897. What follows can only claim to be the writer's own opinion, after weighing the various theories on the subject.

flesh.[1] This will be seen to have a vital bearing on the sense of certain of the sayings. We cite them just as they begin and end abruptly on the papyrus. ". . . and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote *that is in*[2] thy brother's eye."

Saith Jesus: Except ye fast (to) the world, ye shall in no wise find the kingdom of Jesus;[3] and except ye keep ("sabbatize") the Sabbath,[4] ye shall not see the Father.

Saith Jesus: I stood in the midst of the world, and in flesh did I appear to them; and I found all men drunken and none found I athirst among them; and my soul grieveth over the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart and see not [their misery and][5] poverty.

Saith Jesus: Wherever there are [two, they are not without God];[6] and if there is perchance one alone, [let him know][7] I am with him. Raise the stone and there shalt thou find Me, cleave the wood and there am I.

[1] The phrase turns into the third person the "Verily, I say unto you" of the gospels. The compiler, in dramatic fashion, discards the past tense for the living present of religious relation: and the repetition of the formula gives didactic emphasis, like the reiterated "My Son" of Proverbs or the "Two Ways."

[2] Words in italics agree with Luke against Matthew or Mark.

[3] So the MS (*IOY*, not *ΘY*), though editors have overlooked the fact. The phrase occurs also in *Barnabas* viii. 5 (xi. 11), but could never have come from Christ's own lips.

[4] This, like the fasting just named, is to be taken metaphorically. Both probably go back in idea to Isaiah lviii. 6, 13.

[5] Words restored by Dr. Taylor on basis of Rev. iii. 17.

[6] This only gives the probable sense.

[7] ἴστω sounds better here than λέγω: MS only . . . τω or γω.

Saith Jesus: A prophet is not *acceptable* in his native country, neither doth a physician work cures upon them that know him.[1]

Saith Jesus: A city built upon the top of a high hill, and stablished, can neither fall nor be hid.[2]

Saith Jesus: Thou hearest [into the ear][3]. . . ."

As far as relates to the brief, didactic form of these sayings, we may fairly regard them as typical of a good deal of the *catechesis* or oral traditional instruction in vogue among the Christians. But as regards their tone and tenor, the whole is less typical of such teaching during the first Christian generation. It is possible, indeed, that the bulk of what once preceded this leaf was more akin to the first of the sayings than to the next three: more like, in fact, to the sayings in our Gospels. But taking the leaf as it stands, its theological reflection, and consequent deviation from the canonical sayings, is considerable, and betrays the influence of a training different from that of the first Apostles and evangelists. An interpretation of the person of the Speaker, such as we see in the New Testament Epistles and other first century writings, is in fact reacting on and obscuring the literal tradition of the words He spoke.

We observe, then, a certain unlikeness in these

[1] Here the idea found in Luke iv. 23 is developed on the lines of Jewish proverbial thought.

[2] Fusing the thoughts found in Matt. v. 14, vii. 24 f.

[3] So much can be plausibly restored from MS. Perhaps the Logion ran: "Thou hearest into the ear (privately), but do thou proclaim openly"—the sentiment of Matt. x. 27, which supplies also the nearest verbal parallel.

sayings to our Synoptic Gospels and a greater affinity to the Gospel of John. And we are led to seek the theological standpoint which best accounts for sayings like the third, unparalleled in the Synoptics[1] and almost certainly not words of Jesus. They suggest preoccupation with the ideal side of the Wisdom-literature, whether in its Palestinian or Alexandrine form: for both go back to the same stimulus, contact with Greek philosophy. Thus when we read in *Wisdom* (x. 16), that "She (Wisdom) entered into the soul of a servant of the Lord (Moses)," we feel that this notion was sure ere long to color the thoughts of Christians[2] touching their diviner Master. So when we find words put into Jesus' mouth to the effect that He had "appeared" to the world, offering men His heavenly fare,[3] we feel that like causes have been at work, and that we have here a prophetic "word of knowledge" (1 Cor. xii. 8) touching Jesus unconsciously blending with Christ's own

[1] The nearest approach to a parallel is in the attitude of the Saviour in Matt. xi. 28–30, which may involve a half-allusion to the character in which "Wisdom" was commonly set forth in Jewish Wisdom-literature (*e. g.*, *Ecclesiasticus*, vi. 23–28, xxiv. 19, li. 23–27). For just above we find the proverbial maxim, "And (yet) Wisdom is justified of her works."

[2] And in fact we find additions made to such "Wisdom" writings indicative of this tendency. Such is certainly the case in *Baruch* (iii. 37), where to a description of "Wisdom" as God's special treasure which He "hath given to Jacob His servant and to Israel that is beloved of Him," is found in our MSS the incongruous tag, "Afterward did she appear upon earth and was conversant with men."

[3] As Wisdom does in Proverbs ix. 1–6; Ecclesiasticus li. 24, "Say, wherefore are ye lacking in these things (instruction), and your souls are very thirsty": cf. Rev. xxi. 6, xxii. 17.

sayings. Similarly "Barnabas" puts into the mouth of Jesus the moral contained in an Old Testament type. "Thus," saith He, "those that would see Me and attain My kingdom, must receive Me through tribulation and affliction" (vii. 11). These words are not meant to be an actual quotation of any saying ever uttered by Jesus, but set forth ideally the principles of His kingdom.[1] So our compiler incorporates words originally meant simply to set forth vividly Jesus' experience in relation to men in the days of His flesh, viewed as still holding good in His heavenly state.

In this connection the best commentary on the saying is to be found in Rev. i.–iii., where the Spirit's messages to the Seven Churches are also those of Jesus. It is the Glorified Jesus that here speaks. The view of His person there implied meets us again in 1 Tim. iii. 16, which is not a passage of St. Paul's own wording, but is quoted as in Christian currency, probably as a hymn or metrical confession: "He who was manifested in the flesh, was justified in the spirit, appeared to messengers,[2] was heralded among the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up in glory." Here we notice the same ideal handling of the Incarnation that meets us in our Logion. The historical order is sacrificed to the ideal; the

[1] This, taken along with our Logion, suggests how many of the traditional sayings attributed to Christ in ancient writings really arose: *e. g.*, "He that is near Me, is near the fire. But he that is far from Me, is far from the Kingdom."

[2] *Angelos* is so used in James ii. 25: cf. Acts x. 40 f. for the sense, "God gave Him to be manifest . . . to witnesses" after the Resurrection.

assumption "in glory," as climax, balances the lowly beginning, the manifestation "in flesh." This is how the purely religious interest would work outside circles in which the historic life alone moulded thought and speech. And once the Gospel got beyond its native Palestine, or at least Syria, Hellenistic idealism would tend to exercise a growing influence. So in "Barnabas" we find little feeling for the historic Christ, but much for the spiritual fact that the Lord "was Himself to be manifested in flesh" as Jesus (vi. 14).

It is, then, in such passages as these—to which one may add Heb. ix. 26, and 1 Peter i. 20—that we find partial analogies for this Logion. There is less affinity with Johannine language, which defines more explicitly the Person made manifest, the Son of God (1 John iii. 8) or the Word. Indeed we may safely say that, had our compiler known the Johannine writings, he must have adopted their more definite conceptions. But as it is, his thought moved more on the lines of the Hellenistic "Wisdom" literature, of which the expression, "I took my stand" among men, forcibly reminds the reader. Read Prov. viii. 1–ix. 6,[1] and one can hardly doubt that it is the circle of ideas there found that colors this

[1] Especially viii. 2, "at the meeting of the ways she stands": viii. 4, she addresses "the sons of men": ix. 2 ff., she mixes her wine-bowl of wisdom and invites the ignorant to taste thereof. Whatever may be the exact meaning of the words in Luke xi. 49, ("therefore also the wisdom of God said, I will send"), as compared with the parallel in Matt. xxiii. 34 ("therefore, lo, I send"), the expression shows that "the Wisdom of God" was trembling on the edge of personification in the first century.

Logion, blending as a disturbing factor with the compiler's memory of Jesus' own words. This probably fixes the sort of presence which the next Logion promises in proverbial language (cf. Eccl. x. 9) to the loyal and strenuous soul, who in facing difficulties in the path of daily duty shall find them yield a consciousness of his Master's fellowship. His presence lurks, as it were, only awaiting discovery at the hands of strenuous, dutiful obedience in the homely tasks of life. Jesus is in fact the personal expression of that Wisdom whose presence Solomon[1] is represented as invoking, when he cries: "Send her forth out of the holy heavens . . . that being present with me she may share my toil." For only as God "sends His holy spirit from the highest," can man learn His will, and "through Wisdom be saved." Truly our sayings are, as Dr. Sanday says, 'in the succession of the Wisdom of Solomon with a tinge from the Wisdom of Sirach.'

But this ideal or mystical element, which occurs amid sayings echoing the genuine words of Christ, may have been confined to a small part, possibly to only the closing section, of this Logia-manual. And if we may infer that the sayings had to their compiler's mind an order and rationale, it is quite likely that the high theological claims of the Speaker were only made explicit in the closing appeal. But can we detect any order? The following may be suggested as a working hypothesis. Assuming that the ten earlier pages had set forth the nature of the Kingdom of God in representative Evangelic pre-

[1] *Wisdom*, ix. 4, 10, 17 f.; see the fine passage, vii. 22–viii. 1.

cepts, our leaf may belong to the personal application with which the manual, if meant for practical use like the *Two Ways*, would naturally conclude. The sequence of thought would then be: To see aright, one must cease from judging others and purge one's own inward eye. Only he who fosters the unworldly and dutiful spirit can see the Father. Incarnate Wisdom sadly testifies to the lack of the receptive spirit among men at large; but speaks cheer to the two or even one amid the faithless many, saying, "Though hidden from the vulgar eye, I am ever near when disciples do their daily duty strenuously." What though His own in Judea have not received Him? It is but according to rule. Yet though now but a small minority, believers are bound to hold out and be felt at last, because firm-built on the mount of God. (Therefore spread boldly the message heard in the ear.)

These sayings have a strong Jewish tinge, not only in their phraseology and style, but also in the reference to the Sabbath as a sacred day and to the rejection of Jesus in Judæa. But all this is subordinated to the spiritualizing idealism of an Alexandrine order, which assures us that they have been fashioned in the Hellenistic Diaspora, possibly in Alexandria itself. The thought that has been playing on the Evangelic tradition is that amid which Apollos had been nurtured. As the Sermon on the Mount in our Matthew shows us Logia of Jesus arranged for Syrian Hellenists, so these perhaps show much the same original material unconsciously modified by oral tradition to suit the mind of Alexandrine

Hellenists, and at last taking on their final impress from a single vigorous mind. The longer such a mind had brooded over the sayings that had quickened it, the less able it would be to distinguish between the original data of tradition and reflections started thereby. We see something of the same process in the Johannine Gospel, in which reporting often shades off insensibly into meditations started by what is reported (*e. g.*, iii. 16-21). Only, the mind whose stamp is on our sayings had no strong historic basis of eyewitness to control the process.

Thus far our attention has been confined to the words of Christ and their earliest written forms. From the first, however, oral tradition must have dealt also with the deeds of Jesus as bearing on His character as Messiah. Apart from these, Apostles must have felt, no living impression of their Master, so unlike the conventional Messiah of men's ideas, could be enjoyed even by receptive souls. Thus the broad outlines of the career of Jesus of Nazareth is implied as part of Peter's address in the house of Cornelius. It is involved too in Paul's appeals to his converts' knowledge of the "meekness and sweet reasonableness of the Christ," to His mind or spirit (2 Cor. x. 1; Phil. ii. 5 ff.), as well as to certain facts of His life as primary parts of the Gospel message summarized in 1 Cor. xv. 1 ff. And the like may be said of the Epistle to the Hebrews, with its allusion to "the days of His flesh," with their "strong cryings and tears" (v. 7 f.).

In the formation of this type of tradition we can hardly doubt that Peter, both by temper and by his position as spokesman in the earliest days, was sure to be the prime factor. To this result all known facts point convergently. But, as we have seen, there is good reason to believe that such historical details were taken for granted rather than consciously emphasized: and anything like a uniform, official narrative would have been far from the thoughts of Peter, as of the other Apostles. Least of all would it occur to him or to them to write it down. Here it is that room was left for their disciples, acting according to personal habit and more or less fortuitous circumstances. And this is just what the preface to Luke's Gospel, in a notice of immense historical value, gives us to understand. Luke there refers to the fact that "many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative (*diegesis*) touching the matters held with full conviction among us, even as they were handed on to us by those who were from the beginning eyewitnesses and ministers of the word." This implies (1) that, when Luke began to think of writing, there was already current a considerable body of written narratives touching the Christ's ministry, based on the testimony of the eyewitnesses. (2) That he knew of no such narrative by any of the eyewitnesses themselves. Now Luke's Gospel may reasonably be assigned to 75–80 A. D. Accordingly the beginnings of narrative-gospels must be carried back at least to about 60–70 A. D.

But can we picture the sort of narrative here in

view? We have already dealt with the Logia element. And now, by the aid of Peter's preaching in Acts x. 36 ff., at the one end, and the Gospel by Mark at the other, we may say something of narratives proper. Such would recount in representative episodes (with incidental dialogue) the great Ministry, "beginning from Galilee, after the baptism which John preached:" how Jesus of Nazareth was anointed of God with Holy Spirit power, so that "he went about doing good and healing," "both in the country of the Jews (Palestine) and in Jerusalem," until his enemies "slew him, hanging him on a tree": and how that "God raised him up the third day and gave him to be made manifest" unto chosen witnesses. If we imagine these salient points expanded in vivid detail, now by one set of incidents, now by another—according to the writer's information—we shall form a fair idea of such primitive gospels. That they were, in general, rather scrappy and lacking in coherence, we also gather from Luke's emphasis on the relative completeness and historic order which he claims for the result of his own sustained inquiry. And yet he does not imply that he made no sort of use of such unstudied productions; still less that there were no narratives in existence far above the average in the qualities he desiderated. He simply considers that all existing narratives can be improved on in historical quality, such as would commend the Gospel itself to persons of Greek culture, like 'Theophilus,' to whom his own work is dedicated. Indeed when we compare Luke's Gospel with the other two which cover much the

same ground (our Synoptic Gospels), we find traces of his having drawn largely upon two earlier narratives, one of which appears most clearly in the large section peculiar to Luke (ix. 51–xviii. 14), while the other is our second gospel, that by Mark. To this, then, we turn.

Here we are fortunate in possessing a definite tradition going back to the latter part of the Apostolic Age itself, that of "the Presbyter John," as quoted by Papias (Euseb. iii. 39), who writes:

"This too the Presbyter said: 'Mark having been interpreter to Peter wrote down accurately, though not in order, all he remembered in the way of things said or done by the Christ.' For neither had he heard the Lord nor been a companion of His, but at a later date, as I said, of Peter, who framed his instructions to meet each occasion, and not as though he were making a compilation of the Sayings of the Lord. So that Mark did no wrong in writing down certain things as he recollected them: for of one thing he took due heed, namely, not to omit aught of what he had heard or therein to falsify any point."

With these hints to guide us, we can trace the genesis of Mark's Gospel somewhat as follows:

Mark was he to whom Peter alludes in his Epistle of c. 63 A. D., as "my son," an affectionate designation pointing back to the old days when the Apostle was a welcome visitor at the mother's house (a centre of church-life in Jerusalem in 44 A. D.) and probably the spiritual father of the son, John Mark. It is suggestive to think of this young man as an early recipient of the Petrine tradition of Christ's deeds and words, which was carried also by his cousin Barnabas first to Antioch and then on the first great mission journey with Paul.

Mark probably renewed his connection with Peter in between his return from Perga and his starting on a second mission with Barnabas alone in Cyprus. There we lose him, until he emerges again in Paul's company at Rome. Yet the very passage which reveals this stage in his history (Col. iv. 10), suggests a previous one, when a message was sent to Colossæ to welcome him should he come their way. This message was perhaps sent from Paul's confinement in Cæsarea; and we may imagine that Mark had been drawn to his old leader, now in adversity, and had been restored to his full confidence. Did he come from Cyprus, or from Alexandria, to which tradition carries Barnabas,[1] and where the church is said by Eusebius, on older authority, to have owed its origin to Mark? We cannot be sure.[2] Certain it is, however, that after Paul's death he gravitated again to Peter's side, being with him in Rome about 63. There he would refresh and enlarge his knowledge of that Petrine series of deeds and words of Jesus the Christ which must now have attained a definite coherence, although originally evoked from the Apostle piecemeal to meet the needs of converts. Day by day he would, as Peter's dragoman in

[1] The Clementine romance (Clem. Hom. 1, 9 ff.) makes Clement find him settled as a teacher there; and this as a broad fact is supported by the Alexandrine ascription to him of the "Epistle of Barnabas."

[2] The fact that Eusebius places in 61–62 the succession to Mark of Annianus, the first head of the local church there, rather supports the idea of his having been there before the deaths of Paul and Peter. And Nicephorus (H. E. ii. 43), in relating the doubtful story of his martyrdom in Alexandria, assumes that he had *returned* thither (*πάλιν ἐπάνετσιν*).

preaching and assistant in more systematic instruction, be called on to repeat the cycle in whole or in part. So that when Peter, the eye-witness, passed from among men, the main body of his memories still lived in the mind of his "son" Mark. Hence, as Roman Christians began to realize the full loss of that great "living voice," no longer at hand to be cross-questioned as to Christ, they would naturally turn to its most faithful echo in Mark and cling ever closer to the treasure they had in him.

At what moment would Mark be most likely to go beyond the older usage of oral tradition from master to disciple (as in the schools of the Rabbis), and think of committing the prized deposit to writing? Probability points to the time when he began to talk of departure for his native East, perhaps to Cyprus and ultimately to Alexandria. In some such way, then, this pricelessly fresh and lifelike narrative, the Memoirs of Peter (as they were to Justin Martyr), came to attain the fixity of written words, with all their individual stamp still unimpaired, and their homely realism still unembarrassed, as has been well said, by an artificial reverence.

We have seen that this was after Peter's decease in 64 A. D. On the other hand, it was probably prior to the full development of the Revolt in Judæa. Only so can we explain Mark's tone in relation to the calamities foretold in it (chap. xiii.) as impending over Judæa and Jerusalem. If we compare his language with the parallel passages in Luke we feel a marked difference. The one seems to write with-

out, the other with, the actual events of 70 A. D. before him.

The case is more ambiguous as regards our Matthew, the origin of which now invites attention. We have already hinted that Luke could not have written his Preface as he did, had he known of a full Gospel composed by the Apostle Matthew. But Papias and others after him believed that this Apostle did write some Gospel-book in Hebrew or rather Aramaic. A reconciliation of these and other features of the case (*e. g.*, that our Matthew shows no sign of having been written in anything but Greek) is found in the view that at a date unknown to us, but not long after it passed (orally or in writing) into general currency in Palestine, Matthew's collection of Christ's Sayings was incorporated with a narrative, which internal evidence proves to be our Mark, so as to form a comprehensive presentation of the ministry of Jesus for a special class of readers.

The felt need of the time and place of our Greek Matthew, was for a convincing exhibition to the Jewish mind of the Messianic features of Jesus, His person and His ministry both in word and deed, and of the divine authentication of His mission. This for Jews could consist, in the main, in nothing else than the concord between the facts of Jesus' history and the Messianic foreshadowing in their Sacred Scriptures, in the light of which even alleged history would gain enhanced persuasiveness and cogency. Thus the existing Evangelic material is cast into a fresh mould, that of observed "fulfilment." The

chief traces of the interest the unknown writer had in undertaking his task and making certain additions from his own store of oral tradition (*e. g.*, the stories connected with the Nativity)—which appear as peculiarities of his among the Synoptic Gospels—are writ large on those passages where he calls attention to prophecy in the phrase, "That it might be fulfilled which was spoken through the prophet."

Thus each of our Gospels answers to a need in some circle between 65 and 80 A. D., and so throws back light upon conditions of Christian life which otherwise might escape us. Mark's simple realism satisfies the spontaneous wants of devout religious contemplation even among Gentiles, perpetuating the image of Jesus as He lived in the faithful mirror of Peter's vivid memory. Matthew, as we have it, presents the picture of the same Jesus in another perspective, that in which the lineaments of the Meek yet Regal Messiah strike the beholder, the perspective adapted to the needs of Jewish readers. With Luke's picture we have yet to deal in its own place. But we may so far anticipate as to say that it is dominated by the interest and instinct of the historian—the religious historian indeed, yet the man to whom loved facts are the more significant and assured that the organic sequence between them can be set in due relief, so as naturally to suggest their own inmost meaning and moral.

As regards the probable date of our Matthew, the warning note that the crisis in Jewish national destiny is drawing on, already struck in the parenthetic comment introduced in Mark xiii. 14, "Let him that

readeth (probably, in public service) understand," is not only repeated by its author but is made yet more urgent in the phrasing of the Apocalyptic Discourse to which it refers. At an earlier stage, when dealing with the feelings of the Palestinian Christians as the signs of coming trouble and war began to thicken, we hinted that the development of events felt to be fulfilling the tenor of Christ's warning as to disasters coming upon Judæa and Jerusalem, would naturally color the tradition of the Master's words upon this absorbing topic. Of this tendency Matthew shows more sign than Mark. And yet its language in general, when compared with that of Luke writing after 70 A. D., would be natural to one writing before rather than after the siege of Jerusalem. Accordingly this Gospel, using our Mark—written not earlier than 65 and perhaps a year or two later—but betraying no consciousness of the actual issues of 70 A. D., may provisionally and as a whole be assigned to 68–69 A. D.

BOOK III.

The Second Generation: Trials and Consolidation.

CHAPTER I.

AFTER THE STORM: THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS.

AFTER the end of the Apostolic Age in its narrower sense, the age during which the original Apostles were for the most part still alive, our materials for history become rather scanty and of more uncertain date. Indeed within the New Testament itself the Johannine writings are at first sight our sole authorities. It is true that first appearances are here deceptive, since Acts, as well as Luke at least among our Synoptic Gospels, probably belong to the ten years after the fall of Jerusalem; and inferentially they cast some light on the fortunes of the Church in those days. But after all is said, and assuming that the Revelation of John is prior to 85, we are still sadly in need of chronological landmarks even for the first half of the era 70–100. In these circumstances it is well to bring prominently on the scene the one other complete Christian writ-

ing [1] of this earlier period to which a date can be assigned within narrow limits. We refer to the so-called Epistle of Barnabas, which has the merit of introducing several of the features that mark the later Apostolic Age as a whole.

It dates itself in the following fashion. In chapter iv. there occurs an apocalyptic passage, declaring that "the final offence is at hand," that which Enoch [2] had in view when he said: "For to this end the Master hath cut short the seasons and the days, that His Beloved may hasten and come to His inheritance." The author then quotes "the prophet" (Daniel vii. 24) as follows: "Ten reigns shall reign upon the earth; and after them shall arise a little king, who shall bring low three of the kings at one blow." "And I saw the fourth beast to be wicked and strong and more intractable than all the beasts of the earth, and how there arose from him ten horns, and from these a little horn, an offshoot, and how that it brought low at a stroke three of the great horns." He then adds, "Ye ought, therefore,

[1] In contrast to the Christian additions to Jewish writings (both morally didactic and apocalyptic) such as the present writer believes to exist in far larger quantity than is as yet generally realized. The fall of Jerusalem was a wonderfully stimulating theme, and called for a readjustment of attitude in many quarters. Many books were felt to need bringing up to date in its light, if they were to remain fit expositions of "the whole duty of man" in different circles of piety.

[2] In a recension of the *Book of Enoch* in part peculiar to the region and time, for it does not survive in the book as known to us. To judge from the title given to Messiah, "His beloved," it was the form current in the region and time reflected in the *Ascension of Isaiah* (iii. iv.), *i. e.*, North-Syria about 64 68 A. D.

to comprehend." This *nota bene* recalls the one inserted in Mark xiii. 14, "Let the reader understand," and warns us that a glance at the horizon of current events is intended. And when we observe the way in which the writer has twisted the language of Daniel, we see what he is hinting as broadly as he dared. We learn, in fact, that he is living in the era when three kings, in a sense, were together ruling the world,[1] viz, Vespasian and his two sons, Titus and Domitian. For though Domitian was never, technically, colleague with the other two as *Imperator*, yet his honorary status was near enough equality to satisfy an apocalyptist writing in the East and for Easterns. The "offshoot," then, is Nero *redivivus*, according to the idea already referred to as current for some time after his death, namely that he would reappear and overwhelm his foes. All this points to a period early in Vespasian's reign. It was then that the new dynasty, the Flavians who had replaced the Julian line, would most look like sharing the fate of Galba and his equally shortlived successors. It was then, too, that a novel phenomenon, like the association of three heads of the Empire, would most impress the imagination and stir it to note any affinity with past prophecy. Hence we may safely treat the *Epistle of Barnabas* as a voice out of the years 70–75.

But whose voice? And whence? And whither directed? But few scholars to-day believe that its author was Paul's early companion, Barnabas. The traditional title cannot prove his authorship:

[1] See further the Literary Appendix.

it simply shows that the Alexandrine Church, with which our knowledge of it begins, was glad to believe it by Barnabas—a fact which may be cited as part of the evidence connecting the latter days of that apostolic man with Alexandria.[1] But while we cannot be sure of the author's name, much less of his personality, we can gather something of his standing in the Church from the epistle itself.

He addresses his readers as his "sons and daughters," and refers to the gratification which "the much-desired sight" of them had caused him on his recent visit. He also alludes to the way in which the Lord had prospered his temporary ministry among them. As he looks back on all this, he feels constrained not only to love such "blessed and glorious spirits," but also to share with them some fresh light since received; in the confidence that one who ministers to such spirits cannot miss his reward. His special aim in writing is to supplement their faith by a completer insight (γνῶσις): and by this he means, particularly, insight into the signs of the times—the sovereign Lord having "given us foretastes of things to come." As, then, they see each detail of God's declarations through the prophets coming to pass, they ought to "render a richer and higher offering to the fear of Him." "Yet not as a Teacher" (like the inspired men so styled in the

[1] The value of this evidence is hard to appraise. The *Clementine Homilies* (i. 8 ff.) assume that he preached there; and this witness seems stronger, because less easy to explain away, than that of the Acts of Barnabas. It is against Barnabas' presence at Alexandria for any length of time, that no tradition of the sort seems known to Eusebius.

Didaché, for instance), adds he, "but as one of you, shall I indicate a few points, whereby ye may rejoice in the present season."

From which exordium two things may be inferred as to the author. First, that he did *not* (as is often assumed) belong to the church or churches addressed: he speaks as a stranger who had been charmed by a recent visit to them and had learned to love them personally. Hence he feels as if he wrote as one of themselves, rather than as an authoritative Teacher. But, secondly, he is in fact such a Teacher, though he does not wish to appear in that capacity. This is not negatived by what he says touching love as prompting his letter (iv. 6, 9): while it is suggested by his complacent reflection on what he feels to be his masterpiece of inspired exegesis (really a piece of extravagant allegorism, using the Rabbinic device of *Gematria* based on the numerical values of letters): "He who placed in us the innate gift of His 'teaching' knoweth—no man ever learned from me a more genuine word. But I know that ye are worthy" (ix. 9).

The destination of the epistle was doubtless Alexandria. Its subsequent literary history is decisive on the point, though its style and tone do not by themselves prove it. For "Alexandrianism" was a manner more or less common to cultured circles in the Eastern Mediterranean; and as in the Epistle to the Hebrews, so here, the standpoint belongs primarily to the writer rather than the readers. We conclude, then, that our author was a Gentile who had been influenced by Hellenistic culture. Having em-

braced Christianity as understood in Alexandrine circles—say at Ephesus[1]—he had recently fulfilled a cherished wish to visit the church of Alexandria, where he had found his gifts as a teacher in the deeper aspects of things divine (γνῶσις) welcomed and appreciated. He now writes from quite a different environment, where he has come upon a stock of new ideas which he is anxious to share with his recent hosts. Those ideas are of two kinds: (1) those of an Apocalyptic order, such as meet us in the *Ascension of Isaiah*, ideas which seem to have been fresh light to him—otherwise he would have already given them orally to his new friends: (2) certain practical precepts for life, "the precepts of the teaching," as he styles them. The latter he introduces with the significant words, "But let us pass also to another kind of knowledge and teaching" (ἑτέραν γνῶσιν καὶ διδαχήν). And then he quotes the bulk of the "Two Ways" found in our *Didaché*. How natural that he should hasten to spread a knowledge of this treasure of "Apostolic teaching," if it had just come into his hands.

But whence is he writing? Nowhere so likely as in Syria, its original home, say in Cæsarea or Antioch. For the former place we may allege its seem-

[1] It is more than mere fancy to imagine that our author may have felt something of John's influence at Ephesus. There are distinct affinities underlying this Epistle and the Apocalypse, though the latter may not yet have been written. The chief coincidence is in the idea that the week of the world's history is to close with a Sabbath of 1,000 years, a millennial application of Ps. xc. 4 (cf. 2 Pet. iii. 8) confined to these two among known first-century writings.

ing echoes of *Hebrews*.[1] On the other hand, the document[2] used by our author included *Did.* xvi. at any rate; and the latter part of the *Didaché* we have seen reason to assign to North Syria. In these regions then he had met with both the *Didaché* and a Christianized recension of the *Book of Enoch*, which he cites by name; and in both he saw books for the times, their special dangers and grounds for watchfulness. He seems at special pains to emphasize the ethical side of the Christian life (as well as that of insight); as if he had recently had his own attention directed to it more strongly than before, through coming into a new religious atmosphere, as an itinerant Teacher well might. Similarly his final insistence on the duty of almsgiving looks as if he had come to realize it himself more forcibly since seeing them. "I entreat those of higher station . . . keep by you those on whom ye may work the fair deed. Fail not." On the whole, then, we seem to hear the consciousness of Syrian Christianity speaking in what *Barnabas* emphasizes as the messages of the hour, even more than anything characteristically Alexandrine. The latter element comes out in the style and undertone of the entire composition.

A prime motive for the epistle is its anti-Judaism, a feeling likely to be strong in Gentile minds just after the terrible rebuke which Judaism seemed to

[1] Compare Heb. ii. 6–iii. 6, with Barn. vi. 19, xiv. 5.; Heb. ii. 14 ff. with v. 6, xiv. 5, xvi. 9; ix. 13 ff. with viii. 1 ff.; xii. 24 with v. 1. (viii. 1–3).

[2] He alludes to such "precepts of the Lord" as "written" (xxi. 1).

have received from the hand of God in 70 A. D. Thus the writer entreats his readers (iv. 6) "not to become like to certain persons, adding afresh to your (past) sins by saying that the Covenant belongs to them and to us. Ours, indeed, it is; but they (*i. e.*, the Jews) lost it forever in this fashion, after Moses had already received it," *i. e.*, by the disobedience that led to the breaking of the tables of the Law. Here "Barnabas" has in view a type of Jewish Christians who would be very numerous in Alexandria, where a special quarter of the city was given up to Jews. These men were ready to acknowledge the standing of Gentile Christians within the Covenant, as part of the renovated Israel called out by Messiah. But they would have it that Messiah had simply brought the Covenant with Israel to fulfilment; that the ceremonial usages of the Law were still binding on Christians. Against this mingling of Judaism and the Gospel "Barnabas" solemnly warns and protests; going so far as to say that the ceremonial side of the old Law had never been ordained of God, but had arisen through the counsel of an evil angel deceiving an apostate people.[1] The true voice of God in these matters had been heard in the prophets, representing a faithful few within the carnal Israel all along: namely that "He wanteth neither sacrifices, nor whole burnt-offerings, nor oblations. . . . Such things therefore He annulled, that the New Law ('Covenant' in xiv. 5) of our Lord Jesus Christ, a law without yoke of constraint, might

[1] This estimate of pre-Christian Judaism could not come from the Barnabas of *Acts*.

have its oblation offered by no human hands." He then quotes Jer. vii. 22 f. and Zech. viii. 17, to show that abstinence from ill-will against one's fellow and from a false oath was the sort of oblation required of the Lord. For "sacrifice unto God is a broken heart; the smell of a sweet savor unto the Lord is a heart that glorifies its Maker (Ps. li. 19). We ought, therefore, brethren, to search accurately concerning our salvation, lest the Malicious One, effecting a covert entrance among us, by way of error, should fling us forth from our life" (ii. 4–10).

Here we see Gentile Christianity as such taking the aggressive in relation to Judaism, now finally discredited in its eyes by the ruin of the home and sanctuary of Jewish religion. Very significant is the way in which it strives to justify theoretically its growing feeling of distinctness from actual Judaism. This it does, not in despite of, but precisely on the basis of the Old Testament Scriptures, in which the Jews felt themselves impregnably entrenched. The problem was indeed a grave one, going to the very heart of the theory of divine revelation to mankind. Was the Jewish Law still binding? If not, how could that which God had once revealed as His will become obsolete? To us, with our idea of a gradual and progressive revelation, given through the education of a nation's spiritual capacity, and therefore so far conditioned by its receptivity, by "the hardness of men's hearts"—the problem admits of a straightforward solution, even though it leaves its own minor problems behind. But such an historical attitude is largely an acquisition of the wide "comparative" ex-

perience of modern times. For though it is implicit in the Master's word just quoted, and is made explicit in St. Paul's philosophy of the "dispensations," as well as in *Hebrews* (with its stages of "shadow" and "reality," in the manifestation of things heavenly), these hints were not grasped by Gentile Christianity at large for long after this date.

And so the problem had to be solved another way; for the Gentile churches had taken over, along with the Jewish Bible, the Jewish theory touching its nature as a collection of literal oracles, standing all on the same level as absolute divine truth. This theory had indeed helped to influence the Jewish nation in its rejection of One who, by fulfilling the progressive tendency and spirit of these Scriptures, made much of its past meaning and some of its actual precepts obsolete. This obsoleteness was realized as a fact by Gentile Christians; but its principle of divine condescension to human frailty, in giving light as men were able to bear it—which often meant twilight—was not perceived. What stood in the way was not only lack of a real notion of historic development (like that visible in an earthly father's training of his children), but also the absolute theory of inspiration which all pagans, learned and unlearned, applied to their own sacred books. Thus the Stoics, in particular, held a "dogma" that Homer, as inspired, could not have meant any of the crude theology and ethics which his poems seemed to contain: and so by the device of allegory they were able to extract from him nothing but things edifying to their own moral sense. It was simply a choice of what body of re-

vered writings should be accepted as one's Bible. Then allegorism produced very similar results; as we see in the religious philosophy which Philo evolved from Moses, making Plato's voice to be heard through the lips of the Hebrew Lawgiver.

So was it with such Gentile Christians and the Jewish Scriptures in their Greek form, which, going back two or three centuries, was by this time itself regarded as inspired. Unaided by historic tradition as to their original sense, which lived more or less in the continuous life of Judaism, these outsiders were unable to see the merely relative value of distinctive Old Testament institutions, as did Paul and the author of *Hebrews*. They simply saw their incompatibility, when put forward as coördinate with New Testament institutions: and they rejected them summarily. As for a theory justifying this handling of a sacred book, they at first fell back on the view that the inferior elements in the Old Testament had never been given by God at all. They were due, either to a carnal misunderstanding on the part of Israel (the spiritual meaning now manifest in Christ, and discernible by allegoric insight or *gnosis*, having been all along what God intended), or to a deceiving angel, to whom at times fleshly Israel had given ear. Its conduct in this respect, as recorded in Holy Writ, was for warning, not for example. Though the degrees of blame attaching to Israel for the crudities of its religious usages (such as circumcision, Sabbath and other seasons, distinction of meats, fasting, ablutions, etc.), varied considerably in a "Barnabas," an Ignatius, an Aristides, a Justin—

the judgment tending on the whole to become harsher as time went on—yet the idea at bottom was one and the same.

It was no real solution of the problem left by unhistorical views of Revelation, taken over as a fatal heritage from Judaism itself; it was a poor cutting of the knot. But it may suggest two things at least. First, how serious was the problem of the relations of the Old and the New Revelations, just because both were "Divine Revelation"; and the problem is one which still confronts us to-day. And secondly, how vain are all readings of the Church's development which assume that it started from the Apostolic writings as their authors meant them. The fact is, that just as there was a veil lying on the Jew's heart as he read the Law—a veil of inherited prejudice and traditionalism—so was it with the Gentile. Over his mind was spread, all unperceived, a veil of Gentile preconceptions. And this colored their notions not only of the revelation in the Old Testament, but also of that which came to them in Apostolic Words, first as oral, and afterwards as written and read; in either case, but half-understood. In the one case it was the essence of the Scriptures that was obscured; in the other their form. Thus the theology of the second century actually started from half-understood Apostolic teaching; and only gradually discovered some of its own mistakes, as the study of the New Testament as a Canon or standard of Apostolic doctrine became general and systematic. Hence Irenæus, Clement, and Tertullian were in a sense nearer to the New

Testament than the so-called "Apostolic Fathers" as a whole. And hence, too, we are to-day far nearer than the one or the other. Such is the superiority of the historic method to the allegoric, each being but the organ used by the religious man.

The main drift of chapters ii.–xvi., described as giving insight (*gnosis*) into the real meaning of the past in relation to the present dealings of God with mankind in the light of prophecy, is a criticism of Jewish institutions and an apology for Christian ones as the fulfilment all along intended by Old Testament prophecy. The idea is that of 1 Peter i. 10 f. rather crudely interpreted.

"The prophets, having from Him (the Lord) their grace, prophesied with a view to Him," though the Jews missed the true sense by carnal-mindedness. Thus Isaiah's contrast of the false and true fasting (lviii. 4–10) applies to Jews and Christians respectively. Here the Long-suffering One looked forward to the pure and simple faith of "the People whom He prepared in His Beloved (cf. Eph. i. 6), and showed us beforehand touching all things, that we should not as foreigners make shipwreck upon their Law" (iii.). The Lord's Passion is related to both peoples, the old unfaithful Israel, and the new believing People, "sanctified by the forgiveness of sins, that is in virtue of the sprinkling of His blood." His coming in the flesh was to the latter the condition of their beholding Him and so being saved; to the former it meant "summing up the tale of their sins to those who had persecuted to death His prophets." All this was shown of old "in parable" or mystery. Now it is manifest, in that "He has renewed us in the forgiveness of sins and made us a fresh type, so that we have the soul of little children, He making us anew, as it were." Such are the true inheritors of the land of milk and honey, being fed by faith in His promise of eternal life and by the word; and ere long, being perfected, they shall enter on their lordship of the earth in very deed (vi.). Meantime, "the New People" should understand the necessity of the sufferings of the

Son of God, and rejoice in the Cross as prophesied in type and allegory.

He then takes in succession the Jewish institutions—Circumcision, Foods, Ablutions, Covenant, Sabbath, Temple—showing their spiritual reality in the New People and its ordinances, and that the Cross was prefigured from the first. Though his methods are often grotesquely fanciful, the final result is both true and finely spiritual; and the chapter which embodies it (xvi.) may be quoted as a favorable specimen of a writer who, while undisciplined in imagination, has yet a genuinely evangelic piety, echoing at times not only Paul, but also Peter and the writer of *Hebrews*.[1]

"Moreover I will tell you also concerning the Temple, how the poor wretches being led astray set their hope on the building, and not on their God that made them, as if it were verily the house of God. For almost after Gentile fashion they enshrined Him in the Temple"—in face of Isaiah xl. 12, lxvi. 1. "Yea further He saith again: *Behold they that pulled down this Temple shall themselves build it.* It is coming to pass. For because they went to war, it was pulled down by their enemies. Now even the enemy's very servants (*i. e.*, the subjects of Rome) shall build it anew. Once more, it was revealed how the city and the temple and the people of Israel should be betrayed. For the Scripture

[1] This Evangelic quality in *Barnabas* does not always get its due. But it is quite marked, as compared with the new Legalism or "moralism" seen in Hermas, II Clement, and Justin Martyr. He is quite free from the mechanical view of post-baptismal sin, seen in the two former for instance: of Apostolic writings he shows most traces of Ephesians, 1 Timothy, 1 Peter, Hebrews. On the other hand he does not seem to know our gospels. Thus he thinks of the Resurrection and Ascension as occurring on the same day (xv. 9).

[*Enoch*, lxxxix. 56, 66][1] saith: *And it shall be in the last days, that the Lord shalt deliver up the sheep of the pasture and the fold and the tower thereof to destruction.* And it has come to pass as the Lord spake (the rejection of the Jews in 70 A. D., cf. iv. 14). Let us inquire, then, whether there be any shrine of God. There is, in the place where Himself undertakes to make and perfect it. For it is written:[2] *And it shall come to pass, when the week is coming to an end, the shrine of God shall be built gloriously upon the name of the Lord.* I find then that there is a shrine. How then shall it be built *upon the name of the Lord?* Understand ye. Before we believed on God the abode of our heart was corrupt and weak, verily a shrine built by hands; for it was full of idolatry and was a house of demons, because we did all that was contrary to God. But *it shall be built upon the name of the Lord*, observe, that *the shrine of God* may be built *gloriously*. How? Understand ye. By receiving the remission of sins and hoping on the Name we became new, in process of being created all over again. Accordingly in our habitation God dwelleth of a truth, even in us. How? His word of faith, His calling by way of promise, the wisdom of the precepts, the injunctions of the teaching, He Himself in us prophesying, He Himself in us dwelling, leadeth us, once the enslaved of death, into the incorruptible shrine, opening the door of the shrine, that is the mouth, in giving us repentance. For he that yearneth to be saved looketh not to the man, but to Him that dwelleth in him and speaketh, in amazement at this very thing, namely, that he has never listened to the words from the speaker's mouth nor himself ever desired to hear them. This is the spiritual shrine being built to the Lord."

God is best manifested in the believer and his words for God. "For where the Lordship finds utterance, there is the Lord." So said the *Didaché*.

[1] The text in our *Enoch* is not quite the same. But we have already seen reason to suspect that "Barnabas" knew an edition reëdited after 70 A. D.

[2] Probably from *Enoch* (xci. 13): "And at its (the eighth week's) close . . . the house of the Great King will be built in glory forevermore."

So says "Barnabas." Christians are God's true shrine, both severally and collectively. Hence the burden of the epistle is that they should live up to this high idea of religion. "Let us be spiritual, let us be a perfect shrine for God" (iv. 11).

"Barnabas" expects the immediate advent of "the final offence," Anti-Christ's short hour before Messiah's manifestation in power, to inaugurate His Millennial Sabbath. Nero is to return and humble the three Flavian rulers. This expectation is based, partly on the feeling that the destruction of Jerusalem was the beginning of the end, and partly on the apparent fulfilment of Daniel's prophecy (vii. 7 f. 24) in the then peculiar threefold nature of the headship of the Empire (the Beast). He does not seem to imply any existing persecution on the part of the State, though he regards suffering as the appointed way to the Kingdom (vii. 11), meaning social persecution of various kinds. These points will meet us again in considering the Apocalypse. Meantime the last of them favors a date for "Barnabas" earlier than John's vision, and within two or three years after 70 A. D.

CHAPTER II.

THE APOCALYPSE OF JOHN.

POCALYPSES in every shape and form may be described generally as Tracts for the Times, and specially as Tracts for bad times. They are called forth by pressing needs. Their aim is a most practical one, namely to succor distressed faith by casting light upon the long way when it leads through dark valleys and over arid wastes, and when hope deferred maketh sick the hearts that wait on God. They are also essentially Latter-Day writings. For, though they generally begin with a review of God's past dealings with His people—cast in the form of visions vouchsafed to some Old Testament worthy—they always end with a prophecy of the immediate future, viewed from the writer's own age and standpoint, and often of the Final Consummation also. In fact they paint the penultimate acts in the divine drama, "the mystery of God." Thus they are eschatological in substance, while historical in form. The historical survey serves to unfold the philosophy or rationale of God's dealings, His judgments in particular—whether on His own people or upon those used as instruments in His chastening hand; and so the mind is led to perceive by analogy what He is just about to do in the hour of action soon to follow the painful hour of His silence and apparent neglect.

Such are the general laws of apocalyptic, both Jewish and Judæo-Christian: for we have no early instance of a purely Gentile Christian Apocalypse. And to these laws the one Christian example, the supreme one of its kind, which the Christian consciousness, after many misgivings[1] throughout the second and third centuries, decided to include in its sacred Canon, most notably conforms. This it does explicitly in proclaiming blessed "him that readeth and them that hear the words of the prophecy," who observe the practical instructions laid down for conduct during the season contemplated; "for the season is at hand" (i. 3). The plain meaning of this could never be missed save under the influence of an arbitrary theory, which sets the Divine purpose of the book in diametrical opposition (as regards time-reference) to the aim which its human author had in view in writing his visions. But now at least, the analogy of the apocalyptic form, to which the work presumably conforms just as every other book in the New Testament to the literary type adopted, makes only one view possible to a candid reader. Its lessons were for its first readers, because they needed its explicit consolations and warnings. Its horizon therefore is their horizon. If it has abiding lessons for our age and every age, it is simply as have the other hortatory books of the Bible. It can speak aright only to the mind that seizes upon the eternal principles of the spiritual world

[1] These misgivings reappeared after the Reformation, when Biblical truth and "the analogy of faith" as a whole began to be considered afresh.

therein exemplified or symbolized with surpassing impressiveness, and then reapplies them by sound parity of reasoning to the conditions of its own age. But the task is more difficult than in the other cases, by reason of its symbolic form and the fact that we are only gradually recovering the key to the cipher—a cipher meant partly to conceal the contents from the possible glance of foes and would-be persecutors. The true key is a knowledge of world-history as it lived in the minds of the writer and of his contemporaries, particularly the Christian communities of the Roman province of Asia.

All Apocalyptic is concerned with the strife of the Divine and the anti-divine in the world. These in the apostolic age were embodied in the Messianic Kingdom and its foes, the sway of Christ and forces of resistance which came in time to be summed up in the idea of Anti-Christ. But even in the Apostolic Age the scene changed rapidly. At first the prime foe was unbelieving Judaism, which for Christian thought passed more and more into final apostasy. After 70, however, Judaism was no longer of the first moment. And the rival of its spiritual successor, the New Messianic Israel the world over, was seen to be the world-power of Rome. There is thus no slight change as between 2 Thess. and John's Apocalypse, a change concerning the place of the Roman State in relation to the people of God. To Paul the Roman system had stood *for* the Christians, as a system of law and equity restraining the lawless self-will of individuals and interested classes in society, such as the Jews. In the Apocalypse it appears,

like one of the older empires in Daniel and later Apocalyptic, as the arch foe, the embodiment of brute force, of might *versus* right—in a word as the Beast. In this it simply reflects the new experience of the Church since Paul wrote, including his own death and that of Peter and the other victims of Nero's atrocious brutality. Rome had changed in practice; and this, from the Christian standpoint, justified the new feeling toward the Roman State as such. Yet it was not merely the fact of persecution that gave to the Apocalypse its distinctive passion; it was equally the grounds on which it rested, namely Cæsar-worship and the demand it made on Christians in common with all the Roman world. Such idolatry of Rome and her heads, the Emperors deified after death, if not during life (the Beast's heads have "names of blasphemy"), was specially prevalent in the provinces, and most of all in provincial Asia. Here it was highly organized with a regular priesthood, "the False-Prophet" associated with the Beast (*e. g.*, xvi. 13).[1] Accordingly everything points to "Asia" as the home of the Apocalypse, addressed as it is to the leading churches of that province. Into the great richness of detail and imagery drawn from various quarters,[2] it is here needless to enter.

[1] In xiii. 11 it seems meant by the Beast from the land, with two horns as of a lamb, perhaps Anti-Christ's caricature of the "two witnesses," cf. xi. 3 ff.

[2] It is simply saturated with the imagery and language of the Old Testament (see the text as printed in Westcott and Hort). But it also implies a knowledge of current Jewish Apocalyptic; and in ch. xii. 1 ff. seems to use imagery derived ultimately from Babylonian astro-mythology (*e. g.*, the conflict of Tiamat and Marduk, prime figures in its creation-myth).

The absorbing motive of the work, which, whatever the forms in which some of the material may have preëxisted, presents an artistic unity, is clearly the struggle between the Kingdom of God and of the Lamb, on the one part, and that of the world (actuated by Satanic agencies) on the other. And as the worldly spirit attained its most fascinating form in the Roman empire (the Beast), with its centre in the city of the Seven Hills (the Harlot beguiling the potentates of earth into spiritual fornication or infidelity to God), it is Rome in its several aspects of rivalry to God that fills the midst of the apocalyptic picture.

The key to the situation, then, lies in chapters xiii., xvii. The Beast from the sea (taken over from Daniel), with its complement of ten horns (centres of power) and its seven heads on which were "names of blasphemy," was felt to be realized in the Roman Empire.[1] Its irresistible might seemed but the focussed energy of the Satanic Power always at work in the world in opposition to God's sway. And not long before John wrote, it had given a striking proof of vitality. The Julian line of Cæsars, five in number, had come to a violent end in the death of Nero (A. D. 68): but the wound which had gaped during a period of civil wars, was now healed in the person of Vespasian,

[1] The Beast represents, now the Empire, and now the Emperor in whom its evil side finds vent. So the mystic number 666 (xiii. 18) is probably generic (*e. g.*, *Lateinos*-a Roman) and not a single person like Nero—a view which implies the use of Hebrew letters to fit at all. As regards the epoch, three and a half years or forty-two months or 1,260 days, it is a traditional symbol for the time of Anti-Christ's sway (*e. g.*, xii. 6, 14, xiii. 5).

supported by his son Titus. Yet it could not last. Nero's rule was clearly the prelude of the complete manifestation of Anti-Christ. There was but one more head wanting to complete the mystic seven, the perfect tale of the world's rivalry of God and His heavenly agencies (cf. the Seven Spirits of God, Seven Angels, etc.). It could not be long in appearing, nor could it long endure before the return to life of Nero (the eighth who was also "one of the seven") should bring on the final catastrophe. His previous enormities were but a foretaste. In particular, he was to take his revenge in characteristic fashion on Rome whence he had been forced to flee in humiliation, and so become the scourge of God on the arch-foe. John expects that Nero, who even in his "return" was to ape the Christ, would be animated with more than his former measure of Satanic energies[1] and, gathering about him the provincial governors (the "ten heads" of the beast), would turn upon the city of Rome and consume her with fire (as once before in part). Then would be the Messianic intervention; the riding forth of Messiah as "King of Kings and Lord of Lords," to take possession of His Kingdom; the final stand of the powers of evil and their overthrow; the casting of the Beast (Nero) and the False-Prophet[2] into the "lake of fire," and therewith the loss of all real power to the Ancient Serpent, Satan; and the Millennial reign

[1] The *Ascension of Isaiah* perhaps imagines him developing into this without first dying: yet see p. 523 note [1].

[2] Suggested perhaps by the Asiarch or chief priest of the Imperial cult in "Asia."

of Christ and His late martyrs, the heritors of the first resurrection. Yet in the borders of the inhabited earth there are unexhausted elements of revolt (cf. the active reign of 1 Cor. xv. 25 ff.). Satan is let loose once more, and leads the savage hordes of Gog and Magog (names borrowed from Ezek. xxxviii. f.) against "the camp of the Saints and the Beloved City." But God's fire devours them, and the devil, the ultimate root of error, is cast into the hopeless doom of the Lake of Fire. There ensues the second or general resurrection, and the Judgment of the dead according to their deeds, those not found in the Lamb's Book of Life being consigned to the "second death" of the "lake of fire." Then at last comes the great transformation and renovation of all things, "the new heaven and the new earth," all evil and instability (of which the sea was the type) being forever done away. The Divine and heavenly penetrates and transfigures the earthly. The dream of prophets and psalmists is fulfilled. The outer and visible are in perfect accord with the inner and spiritual. The centre of the regenerate earth shall be the New Jerusalem, heavenly in origin and nature, the home of the redeemed, the sphere of God's manifested presence. Once more at the close, as at the opening of the book, the practical aim of the "prophecy" as a message for the writer's age comes out unmistakably (xxii. 10 ff.). Warnings and invitations are given; and the music dies away on its keynote: "He that testifieth these things saith, 'Yea, I come quickly.' 'Amen: come. Lord Jesus.'"

So far we have set forth the message of the Apocalypse as it was meant to influence Christian conduct at the point where the tension of faith was most sorely felt. The constant "asides," or parentheses pointing the moral of the drama of the near future, as it unfolds its pictures of warning and of glorious compensation, show the seer's deep solicitude that what he had seen should brace his brethren to the heroism of faith requisite to stand the dreadful strain which he expected to increase every day. For during an indefinite interval—"time, times, and half a time"—"the patience of the Saints" was to be tried, ere the Parousia stilled the raging of the Beast and brought the great Rest of the Messianic Reign. But his work also affords indirect but priceless evidence as to the religious situation within the churches best known to him. And to this attention must now be given.

While the prime theme of the book is the Church and its fortunes, the term 'the Church' never occurs in its pages. This is not accidental: it arises from the author's mode of thought, and would have been impossible in St. Paul, if writing on such a subject. John thinks of "the churches" that are in Asia, that is the local communities of the Saints, over against the synagogues of those to whom he denies the high title of Jews, since they have proved unworthy of their ideal calling in rejecting the Christ of God. But in their collective being he thinks of Christians under one or other of the Old Testament titles for the Covenant People—saints, servants of God, those who fear God—or as "the Bride." This also is an

Old Testament form of thought. The prophets had spoken of Israel as married to Jehovah, so that infidelity to His Covenant was described in terms of the conjugal relation. So John sees the New Jerusalem, the ideal community of the Saints, "descending out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband" (Is. lxi. 10; cf. lii. 1). It is true that the Bridegroom, in keeping with the mediatorial character of the Messianic Kingdom, is now described as the Lamb (xix. 7, xxi. 9; cf. xxii. 17). Yet the essential Old Testament idea abides, continuous with the old notion of a God as married to a chosen Land and People. This explains the fact that there seems to be an outer circle of men, less closely related to God than the inhabitants of the Beloved City. The whole outlook is of deep significance as showing that our seer conceives the Gospel and its People as a sublimated Judaism, from which indeed all practical exclusiveness, because all nationalism, has departed through the substitution of spiritual for natural or fleshly relationship as the essence of the Divine Covenant.[1] Yet the old forms

[1] In this connection allusion may be made to the true sense of xi. 1 ff., a passage often thought to refer to the Temple of Jerusalem shortly before 70 A. D. The whole genius of the book fixes the scene as one in the spiritual world. The "Temple of God" means the spiritual reality of the earthly counterpart. This latter is now a thing of the past, being treated as "the outer court" and given over to the Gentiles, along with the Holy City, during the season of final pagan triumph. On the other hand "the Temple of God," measured as being under God's protection, signifies the Christian Church (cf. iii. 12; so Heb. xii. 22 ff.; Barn. xvi. 1, 8), and its "altar" the sacrificial function of the priestly Kingdom (i. 6) of Saints, who offer as incense their prayers (v. 9).

remain through and through, as types indicating the route by which the advance has taken place in the writer's experience and thought. Thus it is a complete mistake, due to a literalism alien to the work's transcendent poetic form, to see any preference for Jews as such, as contrasted with the Covenant piety which, for long peculiar to Israel as a People, has now received final expression in "the testimony of Jesus." It is on acceptance or rejection of this that all turns. Thus all who, being Jews by birth and tradition, refuse Jesus—who as Messiah incarnated the Covenant religion—thereby declare themselves no true Jews in spirit, but spurious Jews and as such as much under Satan's sway as the unbelieving nations (iii. 9, xi. 8). Conversely those Gentiles who, by the spiritual adhesion of trust and obedience, claim affinity with Jesus, fall within the Covenant People, continuous with the holy core of Israel and whence Messiah was born through the special agency of God (xii. 1 ff.). They and the believing part of the Jewish Diaspora seem to be "the rest of the seed" of the "Woman arrayed with the sun," who herself represents true Israel within the limits of the Holy Land, in whose bosom Messiah was nurtured. Thus the 144,000, the ideal complement of those "called and chosen and faithful

Thus "the worshippers" in this temple are the same as the 144,000, as already numbered (vii. 4) and again mentioned as standing with the Lamb on the spiritual "Mount Zion," in xiv. 1 ff. They are in fact the martyr Church, represented again figuratively as God's "two witnesses" (xi. 3 ff.). "The great city" where these lie slain is not "the Holy City" of v. 2, but the world—where their Lord suffered (cf. 1 Cor. ii. 8): so in v. 13.

ones" who form the first-fruits of redeemed humanity and share in the first stage of the Messianic Kingdom—the millennium preceding the final overthrow of the powers of evil—this company is gathered "out of every people" and by the Lamb's sacrificial ransom made "unto God a Kingdom and priests," destined to "reign upon the earth."[1] Thus 'the Judaism of our author is the Judaism merely in form which we also see in the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews,' 1 Peter, and the Gospel of Matthew.

The light cast by the Apocalypse on the state of Christianity, at least in the province of Asia, some time during the second generation of Christians, is most vivid and informing. Beside clear echoes of the deep impression produced by the Neronian martyrdoms, including those of Paul and Peter (xvii. 6, xviii. 20), there are hints of the conditions nearer in time and place. Thus in Smyrna and Philadelphia the Jews were the chief instigators of hostility and persecution; while at Pergamum other and more special causes were operative. In this city stood the great temple of Æsculapius (Zeus Asklepios), the Healer or Saviour, whose symbol was the Serpent. It is most natural then to see in the phrase "the throne of Satan" a special reference to this cult, which as rival or caricature to that of the true Saviour of mankind might well seem

[1] v. 9, vii. 3–9, xiv. 1–5. These passages, as Beyschlag shows convincingly (*New Testament Theology*, ii. 389 f.), refer to the same class, "the first-fruits to God and the Lamb," sealed unto the millennial triumph for fidelity in the days of tribulation between the persecution of Messiah and His Parousia.

more than ordinarily Satanic.[1] This it was which caused an exceptional outbreak "in the days of Antipas," a Christian whose bold protest made him a victim to popular fury. His death was followed by lesser persecutions of his co-religionists, who had stood firm and "held fast to the Name."

But John's own enforced exile from Ephesus, a great centre of influence, to the solitary little isle of Patmos, seems to be the first case in those parts of a State policy of interference, with the object of checking the spread of the new religion regarded as inimical to the spirit of the Roman Empire, because obstinately indifferent to its religious claims. To punish the ringleader with exile would be the first stage of a repressive policy, and is not the token of settled severity. This looks, too, like the policy of a judicial ruler like Vespasian, rather than of a Nero or Domitian. Yet in it, and perhaps also in some later and more summary penalties on the humbler adherents in various cities, John sees the beginning of that overt hostility of the world-power whose inherent enmity in principle he had long felt. The world as such lay to his eye in the thraldom of the wicked one: and Apocalyptic literature and tradition had taught him to expect, ere Messiah's ardently looked-for Return, a sharp outburst of the inherent Satanism of the world. Hence he

[1] This view, as based on the most distinctive feature of the place, seems better than that which sees in "the throne of Satan" the chief centre of Cæsar-worship, a thing which cannot be proved of Pergamum, rather than Ephesus for instance (see Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii. 600).

warned the Church at Smyrna not to fear what of suffering lay in the near future, the imprisonment with which the Devil was already threatening them unto their testing for a brief season (ii. 10). Hitherto Christian "endurance" has been tried chiefly by the machinations of blaspheming Judaism, "the synagogue of Satan"; but now it will feel the arm of the civil power (ii. 2, 9, iii. 9 f.). The State's repressive measures had not yet actually got beyond imprisonment for the Christian profession (ii. 10); but "fidelity even unto death" might soon be required. Yet the strain, through which faith should gain the Crown of Life, was not to be prolonged. From the season of yet greater testing, coming to try all dwellers upon earth, faithful Christians in Philadelphia are promised exemption; that is, they were to be rapt to the side of their returning Lord, to share in His judicial reign over the peoples (iii. 10 f., ii. 27 f.), and to be "pillars" in the spiritual temple of God, sharers in "the New Jerusalem that descendeth out of heaven from God." It is against foregoing this high privilege through unwatchfulness, as of the Foolish Virgins—for the Lord would come unlooked-for as a thief—that certain in Sardes are admonished.

The dangers making for such unreadiness of soul were twofold, worldliness of heart and idolatry or unchastity in walk. To the former was due the cooling of "the first love," in a slight degree visible at Ephesus (ii. 4), and to a serious degree in Laodicea (iii. 15–19). The latter were the besetting sins at Pergamum and Thyatira. They were in principle the same as those combated by Jude and again in

our 2 Peter. Here too there were light thoughts of idolatrous associations and of the moral habits which went hand in hand therewith. It is not quite clear, indeed, whether "fornication" is in all cases to be taken literally, rather than in the sense of spiritual infidelity to the sole allegiance to God, as often in the Old Testament (see ii. 20 as compared with ii. 14). But certainly it is so sometimes, as it was in *Jude*. In the special instance of the teaching of the "prophetess" called Jezebel, perhaps in a mystical sense, a theory of a "gnostic" nature underlay the conduct in question. She taught, that is, the indifference of outward action where the mind saw through "the deep things of Satan"—to use their phrase—and could regard the hold which evil seemed to get on the person through the body as mere deception, as long as the spirit asserted its "redemption" through Christ and its inalienable "freedom." Thus participation in an idol feast and its attendant usages simply did not matter: indeed, it showed superior enlightenment to feel free to join therein and not fear the usurping and now dethroned powers of ill. Whether this was precisely the same as the Nicolaitanism named as existing at Pergamum, and as having vainly tried to get a footing at Ephesus, we cannot be sure. To the latter place it had come from outside in the persons of false "apostles" (cf. Acts xx. 29), claiming the sanction of a certain Nicolaus, perhaps "the proselyte of Antioch" of Acts vi. 5,[1] who may with the lapse of years have

[1] This is definitely alleged in the tradition followed by Clement of Alexandria.

turned into a "wolf" (cf. *Did.* xvi. 3). For the seductions of a city like Antioch, full of religious sensuality, were very subtle. Paul probably realized the existence of this tendency; and now it had reached Ephesus, along the main route from Antioch westwards. And once more an Apostolic voice makes itself heard in passionate protest against religion divorced from pure morals, light apart from life, or any freedom that was not the liberty of loving obedience to God in the footsteps of Jesus the faithful Witness, the holder of the "two-edged sword" that pierced through all tissues of lies, whose eyes were as a flame of fire to mark iniquity in the guise of holiness. Hence the recurring stress upon Christ-like "works," those "fruits" which the Master had made the one final test of true religion.

These messages to the churches may perhaps be taken to indicate the sort of prophetic exhortation which filled a prominent place in the worship of the early Christians, just as the hymns which occur in the later visions seem to echo their wonted praises, and, as such, have an extra interest for us. The phraseology is full of allusiveness, the full point of which largely escapes the modern reader. The figurative color borrowed from the Old Testament is obvious, both in the rewards promised to the "overcomers" and in the titles given to the Risen Christ, "the faithful and true Witness," once known on earth and through whose lips the messages now come from God by the Spirit (i. 1, 18, ii. 7, iii. 14). But there is also allusion to the sacred terminology of the pagan mysteries, in a passage like that in which "the

manna, the *hidden* manna," and "the white (symbolic) stone," inscribed with the mystic "new name," are promised to the victor. Christians felt that theirs was indeed the hidden life, into which they had been initiated in a deeper sense than that afforded by their old pagan experience; that the illumination now enjoyed far surpassed that which the "mysteries" professed to give: and that the new sacred food nourished their souls in very deed. These realities, then, were their reward for foregoing the shadows of the old religious cults. Yet of such priceless and eternal privileges they had need to be oft reminded. For it was in "the stress and endurance in Jesus," as well as in His kingdom, that they all were partakers (i. 9). "If we endure with Him, we shall also reign with Him," was a chant needing often to be on lip and in heart. They shared His death ere they shared His life (2 Tim. ii. 11, 12). Yet He had passed through death unscathed, and now held the keys of death and Hades (i. 18, ii. 8): and His love, if kept warm and ever fresh, could vanquish all fear and the weariness of well-doing in the face of an alien world.

It is most important to distinguish in the Revelation things already past, or then in progress, and what was only imminent to the seer's vision. The surest evidence for the former are the Messages to the Churches in chapters ii.–iii.; and here there is, as yet, no sign of the death penalty for refusing Cæsar-worship. On the other hand John recognizes the last hour to have begun, which, according to the tradition as to the Last Things, was to go from one degree of darkness

to another. But these intenser stages of trial are only anticipated in vision forms, borrowed largely from Daniel. All past tenses used in speaking of the blood of saints are relative to a point yet future, in so far as they do not refer to the Neronian massacre or to the general bloodguiltiness of the world-power in its final form (Rome) for the deeds of the same power in its prior forms (*e. g.*, Antiochus Epiphanes, as regards the Maccabean martyrs, etc.). Hence internal grounds for a date late in Domitian's reign disappear, once the prophetic standpoint is grasped aright. To John's eye the moment reached is that depicted in xii. 12, where the devil having been vanquished in principle, in the spiritual realm, begins to manifest his wrath in the visible sphere of human society, "knowing that his time is short." He tries to involve the Palestinian Church in the ruin of the Jewish state, and then turns to the spiritual Israel in the empire. So that instead of c. 95 A. D., some date like 75–80 becomes more likely.[1] And this accords well with the internal state[2] of the

[1] Irenæus' tradition that the Apoc. was seen under Domitian is easily explained. It was clear that Nero's death is presupposed: and as severe persecution did not begin again till Domitian, it was assumed to fall in his day.

[2] Even if Zahn be right, as he seems to be (see ii. 1 a, and the probable play on the proper name Zotikos, "Lively," in iii. 1 b), in taking the "angel" in each church to be a leading human personage, this still holds good. For the position of this "church-deputy," as we may perhaps render the peculiar Greek (*τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησίας*), is purely representative, like that of the *Sheliach Tsibbûr* in the Jewish synagogue, *i. e.*, a person deputed by the congregation, acting through its elders, to perform a certain function (apparently *ad hoc*) in public worship, such as

seven churches, particularly the Nicolaitanism akin to the errors combated in the Epistle of Jude. It also brings the idea of the "seven kings" of Rome (xvii. 9 ff.) into line with the similar passage in Barn. iv., so showing that the suggestions of the times were the same to minds filled with the Apocalyptic system springing from Daniel. We saw reason to place "Barnabas" under Vespasian, and probably not long after 70 A. D. Nor need we put Revelation many years later. For it is only after the reign under which John is living, and after the brief one expected for his successor, that the brutal tendency in the empire—resting at bottom on force and not on the Spirit—is to break forth in "the beast which was and is not," *i. e.*, in renewed and consummated Neronian ferocity. Hence John is living under Vespasian's relatively beneficent rule, which he expects Titus to continue for a time. Yet even now the stress is beginning.

The book of Revelation was sent as an identical "open letter" to seven churches in the province of Asia with which the writer had special relations. Its aim was to inspire to steadfastness of godly living under the enhanced trials which he sees to overhang them and the Brotherhood in the world, in the next few years. Beyond this horizon it has no more sig-

reading or prayer. Thus the function of "Reader" in Rev. i. 3 (cf. 1 Tim. iv. 13) is probably the particular one associated with the "angel," or congregational deputy, in John's mind when addressing his writing to each to lay before the church. Hence the church is really addressed, as is clear from the collective force of the "Thou" in several contexts.

nificance than any other book of the New Testament: for beyond the brief last distress lay to the writer's eye only the Lord's return and the supernatural era then to dawn, and beyond that the Final Judgment and eternity. Its spiritual principles abide under all the conditions of that future which presented itself to him foreshortened by the traditional forms of Apocalyptic thought: but its actual form is full of the limitations of time, place, and pre-Christian tradition as to the last crisis in human history.

Its cryptic form is even partly of the nature of defensive color, since this "epic of Christian hope" would be viewed by the authorities as high treason against the State. Allowing for all this, it was clearly meant to be understood throughout by the hearers as it came from the lips of the reader in Christian assemblies, who perhaps acted also as an interpreter of its traditional imagery. Its contents were practical in the main; things to be observed with a view to the near fulfilment of its burden (i. 3, xxii. 10 ff.). In this it is like all other apocalyptic known to us. Indeed hardly any book in the New Testament is so relative to the age that saw its birth, and less looks towards or is adapted to the distant future. This appears not only in its obscurity to the plain Christian in later times, owing to its temporary allusions and its symbolism, but also in the fact that the Church early felt doubt as to its utility. Its value had once been great, as an aid to faith in a very dark hour. But once the Church began to naturalize itself in the Empire and do its work as leaven, it became a positive

danger as fostering a spirit of blind hatred to the Roman State in the souls of would-be Christian martyrs. So again in the Middle Ages it led, especially as the year 1000 drew nigh, to much wild theorizing, on the assumption that it was a book of literal oracles about times and seasons centuries after it appeared as light upon "things shortly to come to pass." And so, in spite of the courage which it has lent to reformers like Savonarola, its effect upon the Church has been of doubtful value. For it has never been understood since its own day, until our own. Now we are recovering the key to it, by the historic method of study: and it may become a means of good and nothing but good. But this implies that no specific references to events yet future must be imagined. The Christian must study it for analogies, not for "fulfilments."

Was it ever fulfilled? Not as expected. It suffered from the mistaken perspective which then marred all forecasts as to the "Parousia." Traditional modes of thought were but old wine-skins, wherein to pour the new wine of Christ's Gospel. They were, it is true, all that was then available. That they burst under the pressure of the larger and more expansive truths need not surprise us. It was so with other features in the Messianic expectation when Jesus came. And all were equally fashioned on the older precedents under which the progressive revelation had been given. In every case the moral is the same: the new wine must fashion skins to its own capacity—new truths of the spirit finding fresh mental vehicles—under the gradual teaching of Provi-

dence. For God's revelation of His "ways and thoughts" in His New *Ecclesia* is as real as that in the history of the Old. Nor need this compromise in our eyes the truths of the Spirit that break through the first forms in which the human recipients strove to body them forth in imagination. For it was not so with those inspired Apostles, whom bitter experience taught their own human limitations. Some indeed, who had little of the new life, stumbled and mocked. But the Apostles and those akin to them humbly accepted the lessons of God's dealings with His own Kingdom. Of such docility the writer of the Apocalypse is himself a notable example. When we compare his later writings,[1] we see a growing disentanglement of the abiding "eternal life" from the changeful forms of its earthly history. In the First Epistle of John Anti-Christ is a spirit, active not so much in the State as in false doctrine: while in the Johannine Gospel there is strictly speaking no eschatology. There the vivid present experience of the Lord's return in the Spirit is everything to believers (xvi. 17): the rest is left to the Father and His good time.

[1] This progress in eschatology, and the absence of reference to any Christological error, are the final disproof of the view that the Apoc. falls as late as 90–95. Similarly in its glowing passion against sinners we see the remains of the Boanerges temper, and in fact of Old Testament religion, the disciple not yet being "perfected" and so "as his Master" in the yearning of Divine Pity. Yet John's idea of religion, "the eternal Gospel" (xiv. 6) implicit in true Judaism and explicit in "the witness of Jesus," is on its way to that message of "the eternal" which meets us in the First Epistle and the Gospel. If we place the Apocalypse at c. 75 A. D., and these other some ten or fifteen years later, we satisfy all the facts. See the next chapter but one.

CHAPTER III.

EMPIRE VERSUS CHURCH: LUKE.

ROM the time when Pauline missions began to react by their success upon Christian thought, there must have existed two distinct attitudes of mind towards the Empire and all for which it stood. We have already seen something of this in the domain of apocalyptic. There the Pauline tendency was to see in the law and order of the Roman State an earthly reflection of the Divine rule, a check upon human self-will in society analogous to the diviner discipline of the Mosaic Law in Israel. Those, on the other hand, who viewed the Empire more from outside, dwelt on its brute force as thwarting the realization of God's Kingdom in and through His chosen People. If John in his Apocalypse shared the latter feeling, the former lived on in one of Paul's companions, Luke, the author of the third Gospel and its sequel the Acts. His outlook upon "the times of the Gentiles," which were felt to have begun in a special sense with the fall of the Jewish State in 70, was far more appreciative than that of the "Son of Thunder." John came fresh from Palestine: and the ungodly side of the Empire naturally impressed him far more than that which appealed to men brought up as its citizens and alive to the benefits of its law and civilization. In this light Luke's two books will repay attention.

As to the form of Luke's Gospel and the Acts, we observe that they are histories in a sense peculiar to themselves among early Christian writings. They have a genuine historical interest, as this was understood by the best Greek historians. Their author wished not only to edify by recording facts and sayings precious to faith, but also to do this in an ordered form that should do justice to the inner connection of the events as they actually occurred, and in the larger context of the world's history. To this new departure in gospel-writing Luke himself calls attention in his Preface, comparing his work with its predecessors in point of completeness and accuracy of information, in orderly arrangement, and in consequent power to carry home to the reader, by its very form, assurance as to the things recorded. Nor does he leave us in doubt as to the type of reader in view. For the whole work—Acts being included in the terms of the Preface to the gospel—is formally addressed to a man high in the Imperial provincial service, as it seems, who had already been through the ordinary course of oral instruction (*catechesis*) as given to Christian converts. This should be kept steadily in mind as a factor determining the perspective of the narrative in a writer whose artistic power makes him always master of his materials, whether as to omission, insertion, or proportion. To quote the words of Dr. W. M. Ramsay:[1] "it is plain on the face of Luke's History, that he has taken pains to connect his narrative with the general history of the

[1] "Luke's attitude to the Roman World," ch. iii. (p. 69) of the book entitled, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?*

empire, and that he has noted with special care the relations between the new religion and the Roman State or its officials." It is true that Luke "speaks of things Roman as they appeared to a Greek"; and that his interest is in tracing the growth of the Græco-Roman, *i. e.*, cosmopolitan, element in the Church, in spite of Jewish exclusiveness and rancor. But he seems to have in mind men of more Roman traditions than himself, represented by "Theophilus," who had probably come from Rome on the proconsular staff. For he devotes much space in both parts of his work to the mutual relations of Christians and Roman officials in the earlier days.

In this Luke fulfils the great law of all early Christian literature. His aim is a practical one. The life was so absorbing that really literary products were exceptional and the result of necessity. Here the occasion lay in the change in the attitude of the empire to the Christians hinted in our last chapter, and which probably began as soon as Vespasian's spirit came fully into effect. With him began the irony of the Christians' lot, namely that the best rulers proved persecutors. The reason is simple in the light of what we knew of Roman political principle. The public welfare, whether as bound up with due worship to the gods of the state, or as menaced by all that ran in the face of the established order of society or tended to produce local tumult, was from the first affected by the rise of Christianity. For the Church the law of God was superior to the law of the State and had a prior claim to obedience.

To Roman religion,[1] which was at the bottom a means to the safety of the State, such a conception was folly or treason. *Salus reipublicæ summa lex.* To refuse conformity to the State cult was sacrilege and constructive treason: at least it was criminal obstinacy (*obstinatio*). Conflict was inevitable: an inherent contrariety of principle underlay the two societies. The Church was "an empire within an empire."

At first neither side realized this; each understood too little of the other's root-ideas. But as Christians ceased to be regarded as a mere variety of Judaism, which enjoyed a position of special toleration—not unmingled with contempt—they became so far suspect in the eyes of the State. Paul's trial at Rome and the legal hearings which preceded Nero's atrocities toward the Christians in autumn 64, served no doubt to open the eyes of the central authorities to the extent of the divergence in principles.[2] Thenceforth the Christians were in constant jeopardy even in the provinces. Governors had discretionary powers,[3] in the interests of "law and order," sufficient to enable them to repress Chris-

[1] Public worship is here in question. It was allowable to supplement this with voluntary devotion to any number of cults that were licensed by the state (*religiones licitæ*), formally or tacitly, as not inimical to morals or public order.

[2] Tacitus implies that Christian aloofness of spirit from the actual course of society (as doomed to destruction) was already construed as "hostility to mankind" (*odium generis humani*) and judged accordingly.

[3] "To search out and punish sacrilegious persons" and other "enemies of society" (*hostes publici*).

tianity wherever it seemed worth the trouble and the risk of local excitement. It only needed the emperor's nod to put this machinery into general exercise: and the nod might be given by his initiation of a generally vigorous administrative policy, rather than by any specific instructions or by his own example in Rome itself. Now we know that Vespasian's reign did mean a bracing of the administrative system. Further, his son Titus, the hero of the Jewish War, is said to have felt that Christianity and Judaism had in them the same root of revolt against the principles of Roman rule. Accordingly all points to the likelihood that persecution, such as we saw in the case of John and the churches of the Apocalypse, arose not long after 70 A. D., at least in some places. For local public feeling, even where only a section of it was involved (*e. g.*, the Jews, or those interested in any given pagan cult), had much to do with bringing Christians to the notice of the magistrate, who then was obliged to move in the matter.

Once a Christian was charged in this way, it was not enough to clear himself of the specific crimes (*flagitia*) popularly attributed to this "aloof" and "inhuman" sect;[1] he had to prove himself loyal to

[1] Modern missionary experience may illustrate this feeling as to the "unneighborliness" of Christian abstention on many social occasions. "To neglect the evening incense, the periodical offerings to household or local deities; to cease worshipping the dead; to refuse contributions towards idolatrous processions or festivals—in short to become a Christian and abandon the heathen practices which permeate every department of life, is to raise a storm of indignation and persecution that frequently involves a whole family in utter ruin" (from a Chinese missionary's letter).

the Empire and its religion by an act of sacrifice, generally before an image of the emperor. To be convicted, then, of the Christian "Name" and to refuse to clear oneself, as indicated, was in itself to be liable to death—though the extreme penalty was probably seldom exacted before the end of Domitian's reign (81–96). Hence persecution was ever and anon breaking out through the initiative of individuals or of popular outcry(as at Ephesus in Paul's day), or even of magisterial zeal. But it was not yet systematic. It had thus all the more appearance of being arbitrary and due to causes which could be removed by explanations.

It was natural for a Christian to think that apology could take no more cogent form than that of an appeal to the happier relations of former days. Roman administration was marked by great continuity; but here was an apparent exception to the rule. It was with this feeling in his mind that Luke wrote his gospel and especially his history of the earlier Apostolic Age down to about 60 A. D. Thus these were not only historical memoirs, such as a man of Græco-Roman culture could appreciate and feel at home with. They also embody "an appeal to the truth of history against the immoral and ruinous policy of the reigning emperor, a temperate and solemn record by one who had played a great part in them of the real facts regarding the formation of the Church, its steady and unswerving loyalty in the past, its resolve to accept the existing Imperial government, its friendly reception by many Romans."

It is easiest to suppose that such an appeal would

be evoked in the early years of the newer policy or practice, making its protest in its own way and in another spirit, but about the same time as John's apocalypse, *i. e.*, about 75 A. D. As to place, several lines of evidence converge on Antioch. As to its effect in the direction Luke probably had in view, in formally dedicating it to a high Roman official[1] whom he styles "your excellency," we know nothing. But no doubt it passed through this medium into certain official circles, as a statement of the Christian case; and it can hardly have failed to make some impression even in those quarters. It is suggestive in this connection to recall the case of Flavius Clemens, cousin of Domitian and consul in 95 A. D., who, along with another ex-consul, Acilius Glabrio, and apparently a number of Romans of position and property, was tried by the emperor for sacrilege and put to death. Circumstantial evidence points clearly to Christianity as having been part of the charge, which in general amounted to treason against the now morbidly suspicious emperor. This is clearest as regards Clemens,[2] the "utterly contemptible indolence" of whose mode of life, as Suetonius esteemed it, was probably due to his desire to minimize compliance with the pagan rites in which

[1] As "Theophilus" means "Friend of God," and as it would jeopardize a high-placed person to name him in a Christian book, we may infer that this was not his real name; and therewith we are free to regard him as a Roman rather than a Greek.

[2] Especially on account of the clear Christianity of his wife Domitilla banished on the same occasion, whose catacomb has been discovered in recent times. Similar, though slighter, evidence supports the view that Glabrio was also a Christian.

public officials had to take part. Perhaps some of the above had felt the influence of Luke's work,[1] brought to their notice by "Theophilus," who may even himself have been among Domitian's victims.

A word or two may be added on other features of Luke's books as indicative of the type of piety of the circle in which they were written. We have seen how Matthew, as compared with Mark, has a perspective of its own which reveals the needs of its readers and the religious ideals of its author. So is it with Luke. It is the broadly human and humane gospel. It sets forth Jesus as the Saviour of true humanity from all snares and bondages. Luke felt acutely the dualism of life, the life of self and sin, the life of love to God and man. The sympathetic physician looked out with pitying eye on the bondage to evil, both moral and physical, under which humanity groaned. And of the snares by which mankind was lured to its ruin, none seemed to him more potent that the worldly desires bound up with riches and the pursuit of them. This side of Christ's own teaching had come under his notice in a specially emphatic form in one of his sources. Luke has preserved it and made it a prime feature of his own gospel.

Over against the tyranny of the forces of ill, Luke places in strong relief the power of the Holy Spirit, connecting all salvation with His agency ("power of the (Holy) Spirit," or simply "holy spirit"). And so he is led to give prominence to "the Apostles," as the prime media of the Spirit whereby Jesus'

[1] Acts seems to have been read in Rome c. 95; see p. 445.

ministry had continued being (Acts i. 1–8). This is obvious in Acts; but it is also characteristic of his gospel, in which the feeling of his own day towards the heroes of the Acts throws back a certain glory on their earlier state of training. And in this light he felt it unbecoming, for instance, to record the ambitious request of the sons of Zebedee.

This gospel, then, may justly be called the gospel for man as man; setting forth, not so much Israel's Messiah, as the Son of Man, in whom all "men of good will," Greek and Roman as well as Jew, were finding and should further find the birthright of humanity, sonship to God.

CHAPTER IV.

"*The Churches of Asia*," *c. 80–90* **A. D.**

THE two little epistles known as Second and Third John are for the historian among the most precious documents of the Apostolic Age. Their unique value lies in this, that they open up a window into church life in provincial Asia c. 80–90 A. D., through which we can see the way in which doctrine and organization were developing. As regards external conditions, the covert style[1] of address (a church being "a lady," and its members her "children": so, the writer's "children") points to the dangers menacing the Christian name, the sequel of those hinted in the messages to the Churches in Rev. ii., iii. But even this could not prevent the workings of the corporate life of the Brotherhood. John in particular looked out from Ephesus with solicitous love upon all the Asian communities, in which he could reckon many spiritual children.

The situation comes out clearly in the second of the two letters in question. It is addressed to a

[1] This has a bearing on the title "the Elder" by which the Apostle styles himself, according to a usage found also in 1 Pet. v. 1, in the sense of the Senior: compare Papias' use of the term for "the Fathers" of an older time.

member of some influence, perhaps one of the local elders, and is in form mainly a letter of introduction for certain brethren of John's circle about to pass that way on an evangelistic mission to regions beyond. First comes an adapted form of the stereotyped opening of ancient letters, wishing prosperity and health; and then the Apostle speaks of the witness to Gaius' faithful walk borne in church-meeting by brethren whom he had entertained on their return journey from some similar mission. Such cases of devotion to the truth are the writer's chief ground of gratitude to God. Such deeds are not in vain. Let Gaius repeat his kindness by furthering the brethren once more on their path of labor among the heathen, to whom they wished the more to commend the Name by not taking aught from them. So could he be partner with the Truth.

John has been obliged to write to Gaius individually. For though he is sending a letter also to the church, which, in the person of its chief representative, its pastor or bishop, ought to show official hospitality to stranger brethren; yet the Apostle's experience of this man's attitude forbids the hope that Diotrephes will receive any belonging to his circle. On a former occasion he had used ill words of John and his associates, denying their friends the church's hospitality, and trying even to hinder the brethren from offering it individually by the threat of expulsion. So much said, the letter returns to its original purpose, accrediting Demetrius its bearer and probably one of the missionary party. It adds that the Apostle hopes to come himself ere long and say more

face to face; sends greetings to Gaius from "the friends"; and bids him convey the like to "the friends" of his own circle. This use of "the friends" is probably due to the special sympathy between one group of Gaius' fellow-members and John's circle. Indeed Gaius himself seems to owe his new life to the Apostle.

As to the letter to the church, there is no reason to doubt that 2 John is the actual epistle referred to in 3 John 9. The more personal letter must owe its preservation (where so many others have perished) to its close connection with the more public one. The style, moreover, and phraseology of the letters are so similar that they must have been written almost at a sitting. And so we are able to read farther into the situation. The teaching known to us through 1 John had already reached this congregation. Diotrephes, its chief pastor, who was evidently inclined at least to tolerate the interpretation of Christianity there denounced, felt that the issue was being definitely raised: that he and his church must either fall into line with the Truth as expounded by John and his brother eyewitnesses, or assert the right to judge for themselves on such points and welcome as brethren whom they would. In this view he had the approval of a large part of the local church. Yet the majority were not so committed to his policy of repudiating the testimony of surviving disciples of Christ, as to leave John without good hope that a personal visit might bring the church to recognize the Truth as he held it and, if necessary, to repudiate their chief office-bearer, Diotrephes.

For, after all, it was a matter of fact, resting on "testimony"—a favorite idea of John's. And here he feels that his personal presence will turn the scale.

His letter to the church, then, like Paul's second epistle to Corinth, was written as a feeler, to prepare men's minds by a definite appeal to the authority of the original "Teaching" by which they had been quickened to newness of life. He reminds them that he is making no new demand on their faith, but is simply setting forth the old message and its practical obligations. They had built their lives, so far, on "Jesus Christ as one coming (*i. e.*, come) in the flesh," one with a veritable humanity, whereby humanity as such—as it existed in them and in all men—had been sanctified and put potentially into new and filial relations to the Father. Let them not sacrifice what they had already built on this foundation, by "advancing" to a novel theory of His person and so of His significance for human life. Such "progress" was really retrogression: it was not an abiding by the original root, "the teaching of the Christ" Himself, and so gave no guarantee of a true possession of God. It was really a rival Christ that was being offered by those who had left the original Christian basis of communion and "gone out into the world" as deceivers. Let them have no fellowship with such; for they were in effect serving, not Christ, but Antichrist.

The letter does not say that many in this church were inclined to such breach with the historic realities witnessed by himself and others; its aim is to give all a full chance to dissociate themselves from the

tendency described. As to Diotrephes himself, he was probably more or less in sympathy with the new doctrine, and may even have given to teachers of it the friendly reception he now refused to those of the Johannine type. But it seems that his self-love and official pride were more in question than his own doctrine, as to which the Apostle makes no specific charge. He wanted to assert his official authority unmistakably and not appear to accept dictation from outside, even when coming from apostolic men. Such is the force of the epithet "he who loveth to play the leading part." He, as the church's chief official, wished to magnify himself in magnifying his office. He tried to persuade the church that its autonomy was being menaced; whereas what was at stake was its very Christian being as originally founded—to which all autonomy was relative. This is the Apostle's sole interest: and he is sure that once the historic basis of the Truth is made plain to the church, they will decide against the specious self-assertion of their own bishop. For a bishop, in the later sense of chief local pastor, he was in function,[1] though probably not yet with that distinctness from his colleagues in the eldership which marks the Asian bishops referred to in the letters of Ignatius a quarter of a century later. His masterful spirit had made a deep impression on some of his colleagues and on the church as a whole: and this in itself is a notable fact in view of the weight of external moral authority arrayed

[1] Thus he has the chief voice in the question of expulsion from the Church's fellowship, though it cannot take effect apart from the consent of the whole church, including its elders.

against him. But there were those who demurred, and notably Gaius. Such held to the Truth as set forth in 1 John (2 John 4; 3 John 3 f.), and so felt full Christian love for brethren on their way to extend it to fresh fields.

It is hard to say whether the general epistle known as 1 John came before or after the two smaller letters. In any case it belongs to the same crisis in the history of the Asian Churches and implies like conditions. Already its opening will seem less enigmatic. The danger of the hour was the loss of the historic basis of fact touching Christ, to which it was the prime function of Apostles to witness. Hence the stress of the opening words lies on what had once been matter of experience to personal disciples as regards the manifested Life. This the writer styles "the word" or message "of life." This he and those associated with him were anxious to transmit in unimpaired fulness to others, to whom it came only indirectly—not by the direct witness of eye, ear, and hand—yet so as to authenticate itself in spiritual experience, if only they submitted their lives to its sway. Such experimental realization is the writer's great desire[1] for his "children." Only, the Truth itself must be received as something grounded in a real human life, the Divine and human having been perfectly united in a religious unity effective for the regeneration and perfecting of man. Humanity had, as it were, gained a new root,

[1] "His Pastoral is not a dogmatic exposition of truth, but an application of the Truth to life" (Westcott, *ad loc.*).

that of the Divine filial life. And the vital energies latent therein, and realizable through the Spirit, assured the victory of faith over sin and all world-forces working in rivalry to God, the self-hood of the individual and of society. But on one condition: that the root was really what it professed to be, both Divine and human, and no mere sublimated or bloodless life that had never known the strain and stress of our weak mortality. The life must have been manifested *in the flesh.*

To deny this was to strike the most deadly blow at the heart of the gospel as the power of God unto man's salvation: it was to substitute another Christ for Him who had actually appeared: it was the very spirit of false prophecy, nay of Antichrist. The besetting mental tendency of those regions was towards an ultra-spiritualism rooted in a prejudice against corporeal life as such, as if the Divine had or could have no direct relations therewith. To such thought Christ could be Divine only by having nothing to do with our flesh. However His apparently incarnate life was to be explained, His having "come in flesh" could not be admitted. This forced its adherents to deny certain cardinal evangelic facts, and notably the Passion of Christ on the Cross as reality and not mere semblance (v. 6). Such a challenge surviving disciples were bound to take up. They issued a manifesto opposing to theory, based simply on speculative prejudice, the reality of facts vouched for by eyewitnesses, the original preachers of "the word" that had called the churches into being. In this spirit and under these

conditions the Apostolic pastoral declares: "We are of God: he who hath true knowledge of God heareth us, he that is not of God heareth us not. Hereby we discern the spirit of the Truth and the spirit of Error." It is not a question of Apostolic theory against newer theory: it is one of Apostolic witness to fact, as against novel theories which rest on denial or ignoring of such fact.

And now we perceive the force of the first person plural in which the address is cast, and which alternates with the first person singular throughout. The witness is not merely that of one Apostle however eminent, but of all Apostles and personal disciples of Jesus in those regions, concentrated for the time about John at Ephesus. Still the writer's own personal relations with the Asian Churches come out clearly. They are spiritually his "little children," even those "seniors" whom he addresses in contrast to the "juniors (ii. 13 ff.)." The Truth is apprehended on different sides and at varying depths as life wears on. Yet all revealed Truth is there from the first in the Son of God, Jesus Christ, the specific form in which the Father has been pleased to reveal His Fatherhood, that men may walk with Him in the light as His dutiful and loving sons. But all is vitally or religiously conceived. Men cannot "know" the Truth, as John views it, and not "do" or "walk in" it.

Thus it is vain and false to say, as some do,[1] "we

[1] The Epistle quotes a number of phrases used by those who taught erroneously in a perverted sense of their own. They mostly come from Paul or from John himself (recurring in his

enjoy fellowship with God," while walking in the darkness of a divided life, seeing God's truth without doing it. If, on the contrary, we walk with our whole being in the Light of Love wherein God hath His moral being (cf. Matt. v. 44 f., 48), then indeed we have fellowship with the eternal God Himself, a fellowship from which the blood of Jesus His Son removes all taint of sin. For let us not deceive ourselves with the thought that "we have nothing to do with sin," that we have already got, once and for all, beyond its reach. Rather, if and whenever our conscience is shadowed with any sin, let us rely on God's fidelity to the revelation of Himself in His Son, and humbly accept forgiveness and cleansing at His hands. For He has provided a Surety in relation to human sins, a Propitiation, One in whom as sinless victor over sin all sins are virtually annulled (i. 9., ii. 1 f., iii. 5, iv. 10; John iii. 16). All who penitently approach the Father through this Patron or Advocate against accusing sins, can count on the restored light of His countenance. But if we go still further and say, "We have never sinned," we make Him out false—since He has revealed Himself as a redeeming God—and so show that we have not His word of revelation in us at all.

gospel). Such are, to "be in the Light" (ii. 9), to "know God" (ii. 3), "to abide in God" (iv. 16, 13), "to abide in Him" (Christ, ii. 6, 28, iii. 24), "to be of the Truth" (iii. 19), "to love God" (iv. 20 f., v. 3). One sees at once how these lend themselves to a merely intellectual acceptation, against which John strives when he emphasizes conduct or "walk" as the test that God possesses the whole man—the only salvation that he will acknowledge.

Yet while none is impeccable, sin is no dire necessity. John's very object in writing is to teach the secret of exemption from sin. To abide in Him is to overcome sin. There is infinite power in the virtual bearing away of sin by the sinless Lamb (iii. 5 f.; John i. 29). Hence knowledge, real knowledge, of Him is to be gauged by keeping of His commandments (ii. 3; John xiv. 21, 24). Obedience means consummated love of God and assurance of being or abiding in Him (ii. 5 f.).

In so writing, John is anxious to make it clear that he is adding nothing to the message brought to them when first they heard the gospel through the Pauline Mission in those regions. And yet the "commandment" was new in this sense, that it now came in fresh fulness of meaning, a meaning ever true of Him and potentially true of them. It comes afresh because they are now attaining maturity: twilight is broadening into full daylight: "the darkness is passing, and the Light in all its reality is already shining." In this clearer light they can now see that to think oneself "in the light" and at the same time to hate one's brother, is to be still in the dark; whereas to love one's brother is to abide in the light and be free from all offence (ii. 7–11). He writes, then, to his "dear children," just because their sins have been forgiven for His name's sake, and the seniors among them have come to know "Him that is from the beginning," while the juniors have "vanquished the wicked one." Let each and all beware of loving the world of sense and the things in it that beguile; for love of that world and love of the

Father are incompatible. Fleshly desire, the covetous eye, and the self-assertiveness of life, are not the Father's but the world's. The world and its desire are transitory; eternity belongs only to him that doth God's will (ii. 12–17).

So far we find little that is not common to the lot of human nature in all times and places. Yet the emphasis on the historical manhood of the Divine Life made manifest, and on the Passion of Jesus the Son of God as the condition of human cleansing from sin, is striking. The secret of these allusions comes to light in what follows. The times were in fact critical. It was the "last hour." The spirit of Antichrist was active, and there were many "antichrists" abroad. They had gone forth from the Christian camp, showing that they had never shared its life. They had simply made manifest their inner mind. They had never broken with their old prejudices of thought or practice and really adopted the idea of religion involved in the message, namely that it was a thing of life, a spirit akin to the holy love of Jesus. In such a spirit all true Christians shared, "an unction from the Holy One" whereby they knew in germ all things needful. The error which now confronted them was a denial that Jesus was himself the Christ. So to say was to cut at the root of Divine Fatherhood and Sonship as believed among them. It was through the Son, taken frankly as He appeared, namely as really manifest in flesh in the humanity of Jesus, that the Father was really known; and only so. If, as they were sure, Jesus was righteous, then only they who do righteousness

can claim to have been begotten of Him. In so ending this section, John hints that the tendency of the erroneous view of Christ's person already alluded to, was to loosen the bond between creed and conduct. How was this?

The next chapter gives no clue, since it resumes the positive doctrine of love as the mark of the brethren in contrast to the world, whose hatred is simply due to the radical contrast of its underlying principle. Christ is the archetype of the Christian life, in that He laid down His life for others. Then, in chapter iv. John returns by way of contrast to speak of false teaching. Let them test the spirits to see whether they are of God: "for many false prophets have gone forth into the world." And the test is this: "Every spirit that acknowledgeth Jesus Christ as come in flesh (*i. e.*, in full, real humanity), is of God: and every spirit that resolveth[1] Jesus (into two distinct beings, the human Jesus and the Divine Christ), is not of God." Here, then, we have it, the theory making against a truly ethical life, a walk in the power of the Truth. It was not quite what later passed as *Docetism*, the view that the Saviour appeared among men only in phantom form, having nothing material or bodily about Him. It was rather that at the baptism there entered into temporary union with the man Jesus the heavenly being called the Christ; so that the two remained distinguishable and were in fact separated before the Passion, the Christ returning to heaven and Jesus

[1] The oldest reading of which we have direct evidence (end of second century) and recommended by its very difficulty.

enduring death to no saving end.[1] Accordingly, its adherents made much of the Baptism. In it the Christ had actually "come"; there the Divine voice saluted Jesus as the Beloved Son. This they read in the light of Ps. ii. 7 as the "begetting" or constituting of Jesus as Messiah. John himself saw great significance in the baptism as a stage in the manifestation of the Sonship: but he no less insisted on the Passion as equally essential, witnessed equally by the Spirit, *i. e.*, by supernatural attestation in the fulfilment of prophecy.[2] Thus, "three are they that bear witness, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood; and the three converge on one point," the unity of the human and Divine in the one Jesus Christ, the Son of God (v. 5–8).

The view here controverted is the peculiar semi-docetism due to a blending of Jewish and Hellenic elements, and identified with the Hellenist Cerinthus. He had come to share the philosophic prejudice, usual in the more spiritual Greek thinkers, against the idea that the Divine could share in the weakness and suffering of the bodily side of humanity. Accordingly he made his heavenly Christ's connection

[1] The absolute dualism of "spirit" and "flesh" which they discerned in themselves, and in the discovery of which salvation to them largely consisted, they saw in the Saviour. The Christ was a "spirit" which dwelt for a time in the "flesh" of Jesus without really sharing his life.

[2] Probably in the circumstances of the Passion: the casting of the lots (John xix. 24; Ps. xxii. 18), the Thirst and the proffered Vinegar (*id.* 29; Ps. lxix. 21), "not a bone of him shall be broken" (*id.* 36, cf. the Paschal Lamb, Ex. xii. 46, and Ps. xxxiv. 20), and the Piercing of the side (*id.* 37; Zech. xii. 10).

therewith both indirect and temporary. His "Alexandrine" Greek culture warped his views of Jesus as the actual Christ, in the face of the testimony of the original witnesses. This, while it helped to commend his teaching to the current culture of the day, was to John the outcome of a self-opinionated mind and the opposite of childlike docility to facts. It was one phase of the worldly principle. He could, therefore, without egotism say on behalf of the surviving witnesses (iv. 5 f.): "They are of the world: for this reason they speak of the world and the world heareth them. We are of God: he that knoweth God heareth us: he who is not of God heareth not us. By this we know the spirit of truth and the spirit of error." It was a rough and only approximate test, true not so much of individuals as of a class. For while the logic of any teaching will certainly reveal itself in the class in the long run, the individual is drawn to it by many motives, and by these he must be judged. But in any case the test clearly shows the practical and unspeculative attitude in which John stood to Christian doctrine. It was on a matter of fact that these men turned their backs, rather than on a theory. Indeed their theory was more elaborate than the fundamental Christian Confession, "Jesus *is* the Christ" (John i. 41–49, vi. 69, xx. 31), which they rejected. And so their error had a moral root. It had also serious practical issues, by undermining their faith in the manifested Life as the pledge and real basis of the Christian's victory over the world, in like wise to that of the Saviour himself.

It is this sense of the necessary control exercised over the whole man, his affections and will, by knowing God in Jesus Christ, that marks off John and indeed all the New Testament writers from those who come after. The Greek idea of "knowledge" as a thing of the intellect merely, a matter of ideas apart from their relation to conscience and conduct, soon began to emasculate the fulness of the biblical usage, which was always vital, a knowing with the whole personality or heart. This Hebraic or experimental note is common to the biblical writings and gives them their peculiar religious quality. But it made them liable to constant misinterpretation by the Greek mind, as by the modern mind which it has so largely formed. Their religious "knowledge" has constantly been attenuated into theological or dogmatic, namely the former *minus* the personal attitude of the soul in which it exists. Hence the absoluteness of the bond between "light" and "life," "truth" and "righteousness," "knowledge" and "love," seems to the superficial reader strained and arbitrary. He is thinking of the former ideas as abstract, as they may exist in the head without stirring the heart; but John thinks of them as necessarily enkindling their appropriate glow throughout the whole man.

To an eyewitness possessed by the personal impression of his adored Master, the self-deceived or indeterminate attitude was largely unthinkable. And so we must take many of the apostle's absolute statements, not as truths fulfilled at every moment in the history of any professing Christian, even

where not insincere, but as putting in clear-cut form tendencies or laws of the religious life which in the long run assert themselves inevitably—and would do so at once, were man more consistent in his inner life.

In this ideal sense, it is true that "he that abideth in Him sinneth not" in conscious purpose; that is, so far as one abideth, so far forth he sinneth not. The extreme value of this deeper truth, the abiding union of the new life—"that which is begotten of God"—with its kindred source, and its mighty potency of overcoming the world, holds good. It underlies the Christian's creed—the nearest thing to a confession of faith found in the Apostolic writings—with which the manifesto closes. "We know that every one who is begotten of God sinneth not, but the Begotten of God keepeth him, and the evil one toucheth him not. We know that we are of God and the whole world lieth in the evil one. We know that the Son of God hath come and hath given us understanding to recognize Him that is true, and we are in Him that is true, even in His Son, Jesus Christ. This is the true God and life eternal. Little children, guard yourselves from idols." It is a genuinely religious utterance; each and every clause appeals straight to the Christian experience of the simplest saint. Piety, not brains, qualifies for its repetition with conviction. It is no amalgam of religion and philosophy, though it no doubt involves much with which philosophy must deal in its own way. But this is not religion's way—the Spirit's witness with the conscious spirit of man.

From the vantage-ground of this Epistle we can now approach the Gospel according to John, so liable to misunderstanding if approached directly from the side of contemporary Greek thought. For in that case one fixes on the term "the Word" or *Logos* prominent in its preface, and construes it as one would in Plato or at least in the Jewish Plato, the Alexandrine Philo. But in reality the question as to the source whence John borrowed the phrase is quite secondary; the primary thing is the sense with which he filled it. And this, in the light of 1 John, is seen to be a new and purely religious one. Lay the prefaces of the two writings side by side, and it is clear that what in 1 John the writer describes in his own chosen way as the Life, he styles in his Gospel the Word. The former, as used in the less studied writing, gives his inmost thought in its essential or religious form. If, then, the latter has really its philosophic or technical sense at all (see Rev. xix. 13; 1 John i. 1), we must seek the reason not so much in the writer as in his readers. For the Gospel contemplates others besides converts, and aims at bringing the truth more into contact with the higher side of Hellenistic thought.

This apologetic significance of one aspect of the preface is confirmed by another, that in which it contrasts the functions of John as Forerunner and Jesus as Messianic Son. The prominence given to their relations in the preface and first chapter, as also elsewhere (iii. 22–iv. 1, v. 33 ff., x. 40–42), can only be explained by the practical need of correcting a wrong view on the subject, current in the

writer's time and locality. Of this possibility we already have some hint in Acts xviii. 24, xix. 7. We have seen too how the Alexandrine Cerinthus magnified the place of the baptism in the vocation of Jesus; and this may well have tended to put Him and the Baptist very much on a level.[1] Hence John emphasizes the purely preliminary place of the Baptist; while, as against Cerinthus' theory, the Word —the very Life and Light of God as manifest—is boldly stated to have become flesh, *i. e.*, human, and to have been the object of the Baptist's dutiful witness. Once we grasp this principle, the explanatory and corrective motive of the work,—as a gospel meant to supplement the Synoptic type in view of subsequent developments of thought—the whole becomes full of suggestions as to the actual situation in Ephesus and its district. We overhear, as it were, not only the wild theorizings prompted by pagan habits of thought, whether Oriental or Greek, but also the objections of Jewish prejudice living on outside Palestine. This alone can explain its preservation of the controversies of the old Judæan days, otherwise quite out of place in a work domi-

[1] Some disciples of John seem even to have claimed that the Baptist himself was the Christ, seeing that Jesus had called him "greater than all men and all prophets" (cf. Matt. xi. 9, 11). This at least is stated in the *Clementine Recognitions*, i. 60. And it must be allowed that the reference to the Baptist in John i. 6–8 gains in point, if we may assume that the evangelist is here correcting such a view. In that case we get a motive for the elaborate terms in which the Word is described, in contrast to the contents of the Gospel and the wording of its aim in xx. 31, and that without attributing to John a more philosophic interest than he elsewhere exhibits.

nated not by the historical but by the religious interest.[1] And in the greater variety of the views thus corrected, as also in the more developed form of the error involved,[2] we have a hint that the Gospel came later than the Epistle, and was in fact John's last work.

In another respect the analogy of 1 John explains things[3] about the Gospel. As the one has been seen to proceed from a circle rather than an individual and to be addressed to a definite constituency of readers, so is it with the other. This appears from several passages in which the third person of narration is broken into by "asides," as it were, using the "we" and "you" of more personal reference. Thus, "the Word became flesh and tabernacled among us and we beheld His glory," is the testimony of a body of original eyewitnesses; while the solemn witness as to the pierced side and the emission of blood and water, is made "that ye may the more believe." The form of this asseveration is remarkable. It is as follows: "And he that hath beheld hath borne witness, and true is his witness; and that One (*i. e.*, the Sufferer, now glorified) knoweth that he

[1] See viii. 48 ff., ix. 29., x. 15 ff., xi. 51 ff., xii. 32., xviii. 4 ff., xix. 11.

[2] In xix. 34 f., but not in 1 John, it is implied that the body of Christ was alleged to have been only a seeming body.

[3] One may add what seems at first a crude use of the term "flesh" in certain contexts, *e. g.*, to eat the flesh of the Son of Man (vi. 51 ff.). The fact is, that it has become to John a technical term for the humanity of Christ, even when he is referring not to its bodily but only to its spiritual side—what Paul calls "the mind of Christ"—as embodied piecemeal in His sayings (vi. 63).

speaketh truth." Here the author, who elsewhere alludes to himself only covertly as "the disciple whom Jesus loved," or "another disciple" (in association with Simon Peter), is speaking in his own person as clearly as he cared to do. For he has just referred to "the disciple whom He loved" as standing by the cross. And finally, in the closing words of the Gospel as originally planned and executed (xx. 31), direct appeal is made to the writer's constituency, presumably the same as in 1 John, as if ideally present and listening to him witnessing in a Church gathering. "These things have been written that ye may go on believing (πιστεύητε, as in xix. 35) that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that as ye believe ye may have life in His name."

Here, obviously, the first draft of the gospel ended. But before it really went forth to the Asian Churches, chapter xxi. was added as a sort of appendix. This can have been done only to meet a pressing practical want, a want that had not occurred to the writer himself, but rather to others on hearing what he had written and on being consulted as to its fitness in relation to the state of feeling in the Churches. While the language and style are generally of a piece with what precedes, there are notes at the end which imply the hand of others. Thus the appendix is the work of John's companions, who added, with his consent, with his help, and in his familiar style (one may have been his amanuensis[1]), what they felt to

[1] This slight intervention of another may explain the phrase "the disciple whom Jesus loved," just the title by which John would be lovingly known among his friends, but hardly one he would of his own motion use in writing of himself.

be a word for the times. Nor is their motive obscure. It is implied in verse 23. They wished to correct authoritatively a mistaken inference from a current saying of the Lord, to the effect that the Parousia should occur during John's lifetime. This was not the real point of the saying itself, but it was an easy perversion of it, and had its grave dangers. John was still alive (as "he who witnesseth"); but he might well die before the Parousia, even though it were actually near at hand. The credit of the Lord's word was too precious to be staked on a misunderstanding. Hence this appendix, calmly corrective of the saying current "among the brethren." Accordingly the fourth gospel appeared with the weight not only of the greatest of surviving Apostles, but also of a circle of responsible associates[1] in Ephesus, among whom were eyewitnesses of the Saviour's life. And that is just what late second century tradition tells us of the quasi-collective authorship of this, the latest of the gospels.

One further inference seems warranted, that as to date. It is natural to surmise that it was John's advanced age that forced the need of the appendix on the attention of his friends. This would point to a time somewhere about 90, when John would be hardly less than eighty years of age. Putting the gospel then c. 85–90, A. D., one would put the epistles a little earlier. There is an early tradition that John

[1] The contrast of the first person, "I suppose," in the last verse of all (xxi. 25), implies that its naïve hyperbole is only the enthusiasm of some individual, added to a copy of the finished work —probably the official copy belonging to the Ephesian Church.

survived Domitian's reign: and there is no objection to this, so long as one does not put his last writings in extreme old age, of which they bear no trace. The last glimpse of him that tradition gives us is not of literary activity, or even of preaching in the ordinary sense; but of the old man, in extreme feebleness, but more than ever the object of affectionate reverence, being carried into the church-meeting and being able now to say little more than, "Little children, love one another." A fit epilogue to his life-work.

The later Johannine writings testify in a twofold way to the impression which the Pauline gospel had left on Ephesus and the adjoining regions. Not only did the antinomian tendency of those against whom John writes in the First Epistle (*e. g.*, i. 6–9, ii. 4, iii. 4 ff.) probably support itself upon Paul's contrast between "flesh" and "spirit," which they twisted to the sense that the spirit of the regenerate had no responsibility for the flesh and its deeds.[1] John's own way of meeting them is on the lines of the Pauline experience and doctrine of the victory of the spirit over the flesh in virtue of mystical union with Christ. He opposes to the false knowledge (*gnosis*) of God in Christ, intellectual or emo-

[1] If any one wishes to realize how this could come about, let him read Rom. vii. 7–25, that striking passage of spiritual autobiography, into which few then or long after were able to enter. Once miss, as the Greek mind was prone to do, the moral sense of "the flesh" as an integral element in a man's very personality, and one can see how men could believe that it was from all regard to the doings of the body or flesh, as mere moral delusion, that God delivered men in Christ. Such would then take v. 25 literally, and unconcernedly live two lives.

tional merely, the true *gnosis* which implies moral identity likewise, the spiritual union of the whole man. It is this profoundly ethical mysticism which marks the writings of the chief New Testament writers as compared with other products of the Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Ages. It means that the personality of each is so mastered by an impression of Christ as He actually lived, as to be penetrated by his spirit and become truly one with Him in aim, motive, feeling. This peculiarly vital oneness, which may be styled New Testament Mysticism, meets us in different forms and degrees in Peter, Paul, the writer to the Hebrews,[1] and "the beloved disciple." In John it does not appear with greater intensity than in Paul. But since in Paul it alternates with several other aspects of Christian experience, it impresses the reader less uniformly than in the case of John.

The Johannine mode of thought, then, is not speculative, but mystical. John is satisfied to brood on the intuitional aspects of spiritual things, the deep things of the inner life, with little or no regard to the world of phenomena. He makes no effort to systematize his fundamental ideas of light, life, love, and such like, by formally working out their mutual relations. He knows them to involve each other in religious experience: and it is enough for him to witness as a seer or prophet. The prophet witnesses, the philosopher discusses: and the meditation in John iii. 16–21 admirably illustrates the distinction in

[1] Of these three Paul exhibits it the most deeply, and his influence probably helped to develop it in the others.

form where the substance most belongs to both. In this the disciple probably preserves a side or mood of his Master towards which he alone was adequately receptive.[1] Indeed it is hard to say where memory ends and meditation begins to develop the Master's quickening germs of thought, under the illumination of that "other Paraclete" of whom John makes such emphatic mention (xiv.–xvi.). He had treasured up many a deep saying of the Master's which had failed to pass into the Synoptic tradition, shaped as it was by a natural selection determined by the Palestinian environment of the earliest preaching. And as his own environment changed from Palestine to many-sided Ephesus, stimulative of the more reflective aspects of any religion, there came back to him, in his practical work of teaching, situations and sayings of which he had not before seen the inner significance. And so the distinctive cycle of the Johannine witness took ever fuller and more articulate shape.[2]

[1] We feel that the general impression of the place of love in the Master's teaching left on the mind by the Synoptic Gospels, implies a good deal more than they report on this theme. Here John's gospel but supplies what Christian experience divines must have existed in that teaching which was so far above the disciples who heard it.

[2] For its relation to the Synoptic narrative see *Literary Appendix*.

CHAPTER V.

Rome and Corinth: Clement's Epistle.

DURING some thirty years from the Neronian outbreak in 64, we have no clear knowledge of the fortunes of the Church in either of these chief centres of the gospel in the West. But we may safely infer a few things as regards Rome. Already in Paul's day Christianity seems to have obtained a footing among the slaves and freedmen (often Jews) of certain noble houses, including Cæsar's. Nay we know of one case, quite by chance, in which the noble mistress of such a household had herself imbibed the new faith [1] before Paul reached Rome. Accordingly we may imagine Christianity spreading steadily among the dependents of not a few noble houses, and even among the more seriously minded members of some of them; until we get tragic evidence of its presence in the case of Titus Flavius Clemens and his wife Domitilla, both relations of the Emperor Domitian, as already described.

This crowning act of jealous cruelty, in the winter of 95–96, was but one of several waves of quickly recurring havoc that broke over the Roman church within the last year or so of Domitian's life, which

[1] Pomponia Græcina, wife of Plautius the conqueror of Britain.

ended in September, 96, under the dagger of one of Domitilla's freedmen. And it is just at this crisis that we are allowed once more to see into the life of the Roman church. The document to which we owe this glimpse but illustrates afresh the character of our sources, at once fortuitous and forced from the writers by practical wants. In this case it is the distracted condition of the sister church of Corinth that evokes a letter of counsel and appeal. Corinth was under the Empire a Roman colony: and there was a strong bond between the two cities and churches. The situation is vividly set forth in the opening paragraph of the letter, which is couched in the first person plural of collective authorship.[1]

"The Church of God sojourning in Rome to the Church of God sojourning in Corinth, to men called, sanctified (cf. 1 Cor. i. 1 f.) by the will of God through our Lord Jesus Christ. Grace to you and peace from Almighty God, through Jesus Christ, be multiplied. By reason of the sudden and repeated calamities and hindrances which have come upon us, we seem to have been all too slow in giving attention to the matters in discussion among you, dearly beloved, and to the detestable and unholy sedition, so alien and strange to the elect of God, which a few persons in their headstrong self-will have kindled to such a pitch of madness, that your name, once revered and renowned and lovely in the sight of all men, hath been greatly reviled."

Very different were the former times. Their firm faith, sober and forbearing piety, large hospitality, perfect and sound knowledge, were admired by all.

[1] This holds good of correspondence between these churches into the second half of the next century. Though a church official naturally drew them up, such letters were from church to church, not from clergy to clergy, much less from one chief pastor to another. The significance of this, as compared with later usage, is immense.

"For ye did all things without respect of persons, and ye walked after the ordinances of God, submitting to your rulers (ἡγουμένοις) and rendering to the seniors (πρεσβυτέροις) among you the honor that is their due: while on the young ye enjoined modesty and seemliness of mind: and the women ye charged to perform all their duties in a blameless and becoming and pure conscience."

From this we gather, (1) that discussion on certain matters had arisen in the Church at Corinth; (2) that along with this there was actual faction (στάσις) in the community; (3) that in the opinion of the Roman church the root of both lay in lowered spirituality, as compared with even their recent past. These points are developed in the long and rather rambling letter which follows, much of which consists of Old Testament instances of the piety to which they are being recalled and of warnings as to the dangers of pride and impenitence.

The deterioration of tone complained of is traced to their former prosperity. "Hence came jealousy and envy, strife and faction, persecution and tumult, war and captivity." Accordingly the evils of jealousy, beginning with Cain and Abel and ending with Peter, Paul, and the Neronian martyrs in Rome —whose sufferings and death, it is hinted, were occasioned by (Jewish) envy—are set forth in full; and the moral is drawn that God can only be pleased (the distinctive idea of religion in this letter) by their repenting of this spirit. Obedience is the one way to God's favor: this was involved in the "faith" or fidelity of an Abraham, a Lot, a Rahab.

"Let us then, brethren, be lowly-minded, laying aside all arrogance and conceit and folly and angers," and boast only in the

Lord: "most of all remembering the words of the Lord Jesus,[1] which He spake teaching forbearance and long-suffering. For thus He spake: *Be merciful, that ye may receive mercy: forgive, that it may be forgiven to you. As ye do, so shall it be done to you. As ye give, so shall it be given to you. As ye judge, so shall ye be judged. As ye show kindness, so shall kindness be shown to you. With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured withal to you.*[2] . . . For the holy word saith: Upon whom shall I look, save upon him that is gentle and quiet and feareth Mine oracles[3] (*Logia*). Therefore it is right and proper, brethren, that we should be obedient to God, rather than follow those who in arrogance and unruliness of abominable jealousy would take the lead. . . . Let us cleave to them that practise peace with godliness, and not to them that wish for peace hypocritically" (xiii.–xv.).

Here we have the essence of the situation, as the Roman church conceived it. Those who adhered to the existing order as fixed by the traditions of the community, and under which they had flourished in godliness, were falling in with God's ways as revealed in the steadfast course of Nature and in the institutions of Old Testament worship. Those on the other hand who were not content with this, but desired to improve on things by having fresh persons in office as leaders, were thereby convicted of pride and self-seeking, a temper alien to a humble and dutiful walk with God.

[1] It seems from this and from another echo of Acts xx. 35, in our second quotation, that Acts was already known in Rome.

[2] The difference of form in this terse and confident citation of sayings of Jesus, from that in which similar words appear in Matthew and Luke, supports the view already stated, that each church had its oral type of *Logia* which long survived (cf. xlvi. 8).

[3] Is. lxvi. 2 has simply "words," a hint of the practical equivalence of the two terms.

We cannot, of course, accept this second-hand estimate of the spirit of the recent changes as an uncolored account of the facts. The zealous and almost exclusive concern for the established order at any price, and the lack of all sense that there was any case for the other side, awaken suspicion as to the Roman church's ability to be fair in such a case, even were all the facts before them. So that their attitude is to be taken primarily as bearing on their own temper, the Roman love of law and order, through which they interpreted the Christian religion and carried on their own organized life on lines believed to continue Apostolic arrangements. But, while the Roman church was, and remained for a century more, a Greek-speaking community, its view was no final measure of the traditions of a church like that of Corinth. It is true that even it had a considerable Roman element: and this may help to account for the marked divergence of ideals[1] implied in the situation now in question. But the change of officers which shocked Roman sentiment, may well have been due to a desire to make the ministry more representative—and so more in keeping with Greek habits—by breaking through the tradition of permanence in office which seems to have existed, for sometime at least, even in Corinth.

This account of the motives for the change has at

[1] It is just possible that the official elders or overseers had run beyond the church's sentiment, in checking the more exuberant manifestations of spiritual life described, on their worse side, in the Roman letter (cf. lvii. 1). That is, divergent ideals of discipline—in which the church then and long after had a voice—may have been at work.

any rate one clear advantage over that suggested by the Roman letter. It starts from the hard fact—which the latter hardly faces—that the deposition of existing officers was an act of the church as a whole. Indeed it is with stultifying their own previous approval of these very men for office, that the letter at one point twits the Corinthians. But this misses what was probably the very point of the Corinthian majority; namely that they were doing good men no wrong in asking them to retire and give the brethren a fresh chance of honoring whom they would with the responsibility of office. The issue, then, was simply that of temporary instead of lifelong office, subject to good conduct. This fits all the facts without resorting to the most uncharitable and unlikely hypothesis that the bulk of the Corinthians had taken this step owing to defective piety. Why this sudden change from the fervent piety and charity of their former state as eulogized in this very letter? The Roman view is self-contradictory, save on the theory of a sudden and potent influence having come from outside and carried the church off its feet. But of this there is no trace. Had it been so, the Romans would have laid due stress on the fact.

The movement was from within, was in keeping with relations between leaders and community already visible in Paul's day, and expressed a spirit surviving continuously up to the moment when it felt called on to assert its rights. Indeed it is probable that the crisis was due to a perception that custom was threatening to harden into a principle and con-

stitute a claim. On such occasions two opinions are always taken and with some justification. In the protest itself a few individuals would naturally take the lead: but the significant thing is that they were supported by the majority, a fact which seems to imply that their act, if novel in form, was only the corollary of a principle of control over its own officers assumed from the first in the Corinthian *Ecclesia*, as in other Greek religious associations.

Further light may perhaps be gained from the fact that the charge of pride goes along with certain allusions to special gifts of wisdom or eloquence. For this seems to have a bearing upon some of the motives for change in the persons composing the church's regular ministry. When we recollect that Corinth was the church to which Paul said most on spiritual gifts and their place in the Church's life and worship, we feel safe in reading between the lines which speak of "senseless men, such as exalt themselves and boast in the arrogance of their speech." "The authors of the dissension" are bidden to "lay aside the arrogant and overweening self-will of their tongue:" since it is better for them "to be found little in the flock of Christ and yet be reckoned of it, than to be had in exceeding repute and yet be cast out from His hope."

"Granted that a man be faithful, able to tell out a deep saying (*gnosis, i. e.*, bring out the hidden sense of a Scripture), wise in discerning uttered thoughts, strenuous in deeds, chaste: all the more then ought he to be lowly in mind, in proportion as he seemeth to be greater, and to seek the common profit of all, and not his own." And once more: "So let our whole corporate fellowship ('body') be saved in Christ Jesus, and let each subordinate

himself to his neighbor, even as he was appointed in virtue of his special gift (*charisma*). Let not the strong neglect the weak; and let the weak respect the strong. Let the rich furnish aid to the poor; and let the poor give thanks to God because He hath given him one through whom his lack may be supplied. Let the wise display his wisdom not in words, but in good works. He that cultivateth a lowly mind, let him not bear testimony to himself, but leave testimony to himself to be borne by another. He that is chaste in the flesh, let him be so and not boast, knowing that it is Another who bestoweth upon him his continence."

The qualities here alluded to—which include those of "saintliness" in a way suggestive of the later ascetic type—are clearly those on which some part of the new leaders' claims were based. They remind us of Rom. xii. 3 ff., and various passages in 1 Cor. And if the moral enforced is also St. Paul's, namely that gifts apart from love in their exercise are but a snare, yet this does not prove that the men of gift were in the wrong in the present case. There is such a thing as the jealousy of the office-holder towards the man of gift, as well as *vice versâ*. And it may well be that "gifts" were not receiving what seemed, in the light of the past, their due place in the conduct of public worship. We cannot now decide how far blame rested with one or both of the sides. But let us once more remember that the church as a whole sided with the men of gift (as it seems), as entitled to share more largely in leading the church's worship.

The nature of such service comes out incidentally in the following passage. "For it will be no light sin in us, if we thrust out from the oversight (*episkopê*) those who have offered the gifts unblameably

and holily." This leading of the church's prayer and thanksgiving (*Eucharist*), wherein their gifts to God's service in every form were offered as a sacrifice[1] of praise to the Giver of all, came more and more to give those to whose lot it fell a unique place of honor and influence. It came in time to be called "*the liturgy*" or service, whereas all sacred service was originally so styled[2] (*leitourgia*). And of this the official heads of the church, overseers or *episcopi*, had now the practical monopoly. This was a distinct shrinkage from the older custom, perhaps implied at Corinth in Paul's day (1 Cor. xiv. 16 f.) and clearly set forth in the *Didaché*, according to which this function was regarded as primarily attaching to spiritual gift, rather than office. Hence to "prophets" fell the first-fruits of the people's substance—"for they are your high priests"[3]—and failing them, to the poor. Only secondarily to the

[1] The Roman letter is inclined, in keeping with an exaggerated typical method, as if the New were but the counterpart of the Old and had no distinctive features, to *argue* from the details of Jewish ministry to those of the Christian. The absurdity of this exegetical method comes out strikingly in their forcing the Christian offices which interest them, into the text of Is. lx. 17, by which they wish to support the two orders of "bishops and deacons" (see below). Yet even so they assign to priests only a certain "place" or office of order.

[2] So the Old Testament prophets are styled "the ministers (*leitourgoi*) of the grace of God," and Noah "by his ministry (*leitourgia*) preached regeneration to the world" (viii., ix.).

[3] It is worth while observing that the letter does not speak of any earthly high priests. It reserves, by a more careful use of the Jewish analogy shared with *Hebrews*, the title for the heavenly High Priest, even Christ (xxxvi. 1). Thus there are only *two* earthly orders of ministers, answering to priests and Levites.

men of gift, and to make up for their growing rarity, do "bishops and deacons" perform this higher ministry: "for these too minister for you the ministry of the prophets and teachers."

It seems, then, that the original relation of the two types of qualification for such ministry was being ignored in Corinth when the ministerial troubles arose there: and that the Roman church at least could see little but innovation on its own practice in what was rather a conservative step. And this all in good faith; for in Rome usages probably developed in an official direction earlier than on Greek soil. The divergent tempers of these two churches were typical of two races, two attitudes, two mental habits. Through them we may look out to the contrasted futures of Greek and Latin Christianity, from the second century onwards.

While, then, we cannot appeal to what the Roman letter says touching the Christian ministry in general, as bearing directly on the principles recognized in Corinth; since the two churches felt so differently as to what had happened; we may quote the following as showing the lines on which Christian sentiment was moving in Rome at the close of the first century.

Having cited the ministry under the Old Covenant to prove that "we ought to do all things in order" (τάξει), "not at random or without order, but at fixed seasons and times," they continue:

"Our Apostles received the gospel from the Lord Jesus Christ: Jesus the Christ was sent forth from God. So then the Christ is

from God, and the Apostles are from the Christ. Both therefore came of the will of God in orderly fashion. Having then received charges, and being fully assured by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ and confirmed in the message of God with accompanying Holy Spirit assurance, they went forth with the glad tidings that the Kingdom of God was about to come. So preaching everywhere in country and in town, they appointed their first-fruits, when they had proved them by the Spirit, to be overseers (*episcopi*) and deacons unto them that should yet believe (in fulfilment of Isaiah lx. 17)." In this they were taking precautions against the same sort of "jealousy touching the priesthood" as Moses had to meet of old (xliv.). "Likewise our Apostles knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife over the dignity (name) of oversight (*episkopé*). For this cause, then, having received complete foreknowledge, they appointed the aforesaid persons; and afterwards they made an extra provision, whereby, should these fall asleep, other approved men might succeed to their ministry. Those therefore who were appointed by the former (*i. e.*, Apostles) or afterwards by other (and different) men of account,[1] with the consent of the whole church, and have ministered unblameably to the flock of Christ in lowliness of mind, quietly and unassumingly, and for long time have borne a good character with all—to thrust out these men from the ministry we consider an iniquitous step. For it will be no light sin of ours, if we thrust out from the oversight those who have offered the gifts unblameably and holily. Happy are the presbyters who have gone before, seeing that their decease was in full fruition: since they have no fear lest any remove them from the place to which they were instituted. For we see that you have displaced certain, though men of fair life, from the ministry of honor which they had blamelessly enjoyed."

The exact meaning of all this, including its assumption of definite offices of Apostolic origin on lines akin to the Mosaic hierarchy, for the develop-

[1] *I. e.*, the men of the most weight in the community (ἐλλόγιμοι ἄνδρες, *viri ornati*), like the *archisynagogi* among Jews of the Dispersion, who were simply the leaders or "notables" of their community (cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 257).

ment of the ministry in the Apostolic Age can only be seen when we come to discuss church organization as a whole. Meantime it is enough to remark that what concerns the Romans is simply the permanence in office (in the interests of order conceived as a mark of Divine method) of those once duly constituted office-bearers. There is no reference to any specific ministerial grace as conveyed by appointment even in the approved fashion. We have already seen the conception of worship implied in the Roman letter in connection with the Eucharistic prayers and gifts. The spiritual reality in all this, the trustful and loving homage of the heart, was conceived to be offered in heaven to the Father through the medium of "Jesus Christ the High Priest of our offerings, the Patron of our souls" (lxi., lxiv., xxxvi.). This beautifully simple idea of the Christians' sacrifice as praise, expressed both in word and gift, dominated Christianity in all its primitive forms. It is stated with great boldness in the words: "He (the Master) desireth not aught of any man, save to confess unto Him. As saith the elect David, *I will confess unto the Lord, and it shall please Him more than a young calf. . . . Sacrifice to God a sacrifice of praise, and pay thy vows to the Most High. . . . For a sacrifice unto God is a broken spirit.*" But, further, it is illustrated by the fine prayer actually given in chapter lix., parts of which may be cited as samples at once of the type of liturgical prayer then in use in the Roman Church and of the public prayer in the later Apostolic Age generally.

"And we will ask with strenuous prayer and supplication that the Creator of the universe may guard intact to the end the number of His elect throughout the whole world, through His beloved Son, Jesus Christ: through whom He called us from darkness to light, from ignorance to the full knowledge of the glory of His Name (cf. the Eucharistic Prayers of the *Didaché*, ix., x.), to set our hope upon Thy Name, the primal source of all creation, opening the eyes of our hearts, that we may know Thee, who alone *abidest Highest in the highest, Holy in the holies*[1] . . .; who alone art the Benefactor of spirits and the God of all flesh; the Succor of them that are in peril, the *Saviour of them that are in despair;* the Creator and Overseer (*Episcopus*) of every spirit; who . . . hast chosen out from all men those that love Thee through Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son, through whom Thou didst instruct us, sanctify us, honor us. We beseech Thee, Lord and Master, to be *our help and succor.* Save those among us who are in tribulation; show mercy to the lowly; lift up the fallen; appear in aid of the needy; heal the sick; turn back the wanderers of Thy people; feed the hungry; release our prisoners; raise up the weak; comfort the faint-hearted. *Let* all *the Gentiles recognize* Thee, that Thou art God alone, and Jesus Christ Thy Servant (παῖς, as in *Did.* ix., x.), and *we Thy people and the sheep of Thy pasture.*"[2]

Then follows adoration of God's majesty, wisdom, and goodness revealed in His works, culminating in reliance on His forgiving grace. And finally they beseech their "heavenly Master, King of the ages," so to guide the world's rulers in peace and gentleness that they may obtain the Divine favor. How different is their tone towards the Empire from that

[1] In what follows we italicize the echoes of phrases from the Septuagint, including the Apocrypha.

[2] Cf. lxiv., "Finally may the All-Seeing God and Master of spirits and Lord of all flesh, who chose the Lord Jesus Christ, and us through Him for a peculiar people, grant unto every soul that hath called upon His excellent Name, etc."

which breathes in John's Apocalypse! Since then Christian faith had learned to discern the more excellent way of victory over the world. But it is very striking to overhear such sentiments in a church in which were not a few who had seen Nero's brutalities, which was just breathing afresh after the onslaught of a Domitian, the "second Nero," and which had yet cause to pray for its "prisoners" and those in tribulation. Here indeed is the "self-restraint" (ἐπιείκεια) so frequently commended to the Corinthians in the body of the letter.

When we enquire as to the antecedents of this majestic outpouring, we find the best answer, supported also by certain affinities to the Eucharistic prayers of the *Didachê*, in the Synagogal prayers. Of these, the Prayer (*Tephillah*) of "The Eighteen" (*Shemoneh Esreh*) benedictions supplies a number of parallels: and if only we knew more of the exact form of Jewish prayers in the first century, we might find yet more such echoes. This is highly instructive as bearing on the origin of liturgical prayer in the Church. The sense of the Spirit as operative in each and all church meetings for worship and fellowship, tended in itself to foster free spontaneity [1] in prayer rather than the use of set forms. But where men were familiar with certain dignified forms of words from their synagogal days, there would be a

[1] So at first, and for a considerable time, more personal and emotional forms of praise also entered into Christian worship (*e. g.*, 1 Cor. xiv. 14 ff., 26; cf. Eph. v. 19, following on "Be filled with Spirit," also Col. iii. 16 and 1 Thess. v. 19 f.), in which women also took part at Corinth at least, 1 Cor. xi. 4 f. 13.

strong tendency for these to enter as a moulding factor into all sustained adoration and common prayer. And so quite naturally would arise more or less fixed local types of liturgical tradition. These no doubt varied a good deal in form and in the dates at which they took shape in various regions: and it is certain that the older type of free prayer long continued side by side with this growing fixity.[1]

The letter is that of a church which had felt the influence of the two leading apostles, Paul and Peter, and that without having been founded by either. It had its roots in the average Christian piety which tended to spring up where the gospel of Jesus the Messiah fell into Hellenistic soil, a soil composed of Jewish and Græco-Roman elements. Thus it has much in common with the *Didaché*, particularly in its liturgical prayer already cited. On this stalk were grafted, in the cosmopolitan life of the world's capital, all the distinctive Apostolic types of teaching save the Johannine, which does not seem as yet to have spread to Rome. But, as was natural where the mind was already more or less preoccupied, the genius of these different aspects of the Christian salvation was but imperfectly realized, particularly in the case of the deepest of them, the Pauline.

But, after all, every epistle is the work of some

[1] Cf. Justin, *Apology* i. 67, in the case of the officer presiding at the Eucharist. Similarly as regards adoration in song, which at Christian social feasts at least survived to the end of the second century in the primitive form of individual outpourings in God's praise (Tertullian, *Apol.* 39, cf. Eph. v. 18, 19).

one man in the last resort. Trustworthy tradition calls its author Clement, not Paul's friend, but the Clement named with honor in a Roman work of the next generation, the *Shepherd* of Hermas, and placed third on Irenæus' list of Roman bishops (180 A. D.). The style of the letter itself shows how at home he was with the Greek Old Testament: but this does not prove him to have been a Jew. At any rate his standpoint and temper are so Roman as to go against the view that he was of pure Jewish birth. His name suggests that he was a dependent of the family of the Cæsars in one of its branches, perhaps that of Flavius Clemens, the consul. Perhaps he had known Paul and Peter personally: for his phrase "our good Apostles" has a ring of personal affection about it.

He seems to have been, among other things, church secretary; since this is the function assigned to him by Hermas, when he says that it is Clement's duty to correspond with foreign cities. But this did not make him the bishop in the later sense; and indeed Hermas clearly implies that the Roman Church of the next generation was still governed by a plurality of presbyter-bishops. Hence we must think of Clement, and still more of his predecessors in the episcopal list, namely Linus (cf. 2 Tim. iv. 21) and Anencletus, simply as men who by force of character and gifts stood out more prominently in the traditions of the Church than their colleagues in the presbytery. Thus they were later assumed to have been bishops in the sense of belonging to a distinct rank or order of ministry, like the Ignatian bishop,

of whom we have no clear trace in Europe for a generation after Clement's day.

But though Clement was not the bishop of Rome, he was to the Church of the following centuries far more: he became the typical "disciple of Apostles," the man in whom Apostolic traditions in doctrine and discipline took fixed shape for the future. This idea underlies a large literature which gradually grew up around his name, a literature not confined to "Catholic" circles. As, then, this reputation of his rested largely upon the wide approval which this letter won for itself,[1] it is worthy of our special attention as typical of the Christianity prevalent in certain influential churches,[2] as the first century passed over into the second. Its relation to Apostolic teaching has just been noticed. As regards its religious attitude, Lightfoot well remarks that "Christianity was not a philosophy with Clement," as it often tended to become in the Gnostics and Apologists of the second century. "It consisted of truths which should inspire the conscience and mould the life: but we are not led by his language and sentiments to believe that he put these truths in their relations to one another, and viewed them as a connected whole. In short, there is no *dogmatic system* in Clement": Christianity was as yet in the pre-dogmatic or strictly religious phase.

[1] At one time it was practically put on a level with the Apostolic writings now forming the New Testament, being read in public worship "in very many churches."

[2] It is echoed, for instance, in the letter of Polycarp of Smyrna to Philippi, fifteen or twenty years after.

BOOK IV.

Church Life and Doctrine.

CHAPTER I.

Church Fellowship.

THE *Ecclesia*, the visible embodiment of the Kingdom of God upon earth, was at first conceived as the nucleus of a renovated Israel, a community truly sanctified to God. Being viewed, then, by Palestinian Christians on essentially Jewish lines, its institutions took their first shape under the influence of that idea. Indeed the Jerusalem *Ecclesia* never acted as other than part of existing Israel, the part specially sanctified by faith in the Messiah who was coming again to transform Judaism into the Kingdom of God in very truth. Thus they simply added to their old usages connected with Temple and Law those of the inner and purer fellowship inspired by Jesus their Messiah. This caused some confusion in many minds as to essentials and non-essentials, the new realities and what were rapidly becoming mere shadows. The dangers of this indeterminate attitude

come out clearly in the Epistle to the Hebrews. But the new wine was in many quarters straining the old wineskins to bursting, a stage quickly reached outside Palestine, as at Antioch. There arose a new and more purely Christian type of *ecclesia*, the foster-mother of "the *ecclesiæ* of the Gentiles" whose collective being constituted, along with the churches in Judæa of more national hue, the one *Ecclesia* of the living God, the elect first-fruits of the Father's redemptive purpose in His Son, Jesus the Christ.

Salvation, then, on its more human or tangible side, was fellowship in the sacred society of the *Ecclesia*, assumed to imply a share also in the favor and fellowship of the heavenly Father through His Christ. This twofoldness of the salvation, in relation to God and to His people, runs through all the life and usages of the primitive Church: and we must try to exhibit them as vital expressions of the same. This may be done by tracing the course of an individual's experience of Church fellowship in the Apostolic Age.

Imagine a Jewish youth sent like Saul of Tarsus to Jerusalem, about 35 A. D. He has been trained under the Law, and has become alive to his need of a salvation it cannot bestow. He hears the gospel of repentance towards God and faith towards Jesus as his Messiah: he surrenders his heart to the message and declares his faith to some disciple. He is welcomed as already a brother in the Lord; for "no man can call Jesus Lord" with a sincere heart, "but by the Holy Spirit." But full recognition as a member of the holy society of Christ's elect waits

upon his baptism. He accepts baptism,[1] so formally "washing away his sins, calling on Christ's name." This rite gives him valid status in the eyes of his brethren and in his own eyes as a regular member of the *Ecclesia*, with all privileges and duties attaching thereto. Henceforth he is known as one justified, or in conscious favor with God—a "saint" consecrated to His ends, the ends of the Kingdom.

For consecration was the main idea of baptism. Like most, if not all, sacred washings of antiquity, it had indeed two aspects, purification *from* a sinful state and *unto* a holy state in the future.[2] But it was on the latter aspect that the stress of Christian baptism lay, as indicated by the prepositions added to define its scope.[3] It is "baptism unto" or with reference to the name of Christ, that is, purificatory consecration to Him and His service (cf. *Did.* ix. 5). So Paul speaks of "baptism" or consecration "unto Christ," as elsewhere of the Israelites as having "baptized themselves unto Moses," *i. e.*, the Mosaic revelation of God's will[4] (Gal. iii. 27; Rom. vi. 3; 1 Cor. x. 2).

[1] The personal appropriation denoted by the Middle Voice in Greek is of the essence of the idea (Acts xxii. 16; 1 Cor. vi. 11, cf. x. 2).

[2] This is very noticeable in the sacred washings of the Essenes. These took place preparatory to their daily meals which were conceived of as holy to God, being consecrated with solemn prayer.

[3] The need for distinguishing the Christian's washing as a "purification" once for all, with abiding results, is seen from Heb. vi. 2, John iii. 25, where different and rival types of purificatory washings are in question (cf. Luke ii. 22–24 for the close connection of the ideas of purification and consecration).

[4] "Baptism in the name of Jesus Christ" (*e. g.*, Acts ii. 38) means baptism *with the use of* His name in the confession made,

Later on the name employed, as we saw in the *Didaché*, was the threefold name of the Divine Persons active in man's salvation (cf. 2 Cor. xiii. 13; Matt. xxviii. 19). In all this, the end in view is the thing emphasized, the verb *baptizein* having in its sacred use lost much of its original sense of "to wash thoroughly," and taken on rather the special sense of "consecrate by washing."[1] An excellent illustration of this, as connected with the high vocation of the Christian, is furnished by the fact that Egyptian sovereigns were before coronation baptized for the regal status. An inscription addresses Hatshepsu thus: "Thou art purified, with thy *ka* (higher self), for thy great dignity of King of Upper and Lower Egypt." So was the humble Christian purified for the dignity of "king and priest unto God."

It was a common, though not universal, experience for the convert to receive in the act of solemn self-dedication an enhanced sense of the realities of his faith, leading to outward manifestations of spiritual enthusiasm known as speaking with tongues and prophesying. The Holy Spirit was said to "fall" on a man, as on the assembled disciples at Pentecost.

"invoking His name," as Ananias says to Saul. The words suggested by Acts ii. 38 would be, "I believe in the forgiveness of sins through Jesus Christ," or the like. So in 1 Cor. xii. 13, "we were all baptized unto (with a view to become) one body."

[1] No one has seen this more clearly than Mr. J. Tyeth Hart (author of *The Maze and its Clue* and other works on the subject), whose exposures of the fallacy of arguing from non-religious uses of *baptizo*, and from *bapto* at all, deserve recognition. "According to Jewish usage," he says, "and Scripture statement, a *Baptism* is a ceremonial washing, proximately of purification, but *ultimately* and *dominantly* of *separation* and designation for some special end."

This phenomenon was not indeed bound up with baptism at all. In the case of Cornelius and his friends it accompanied the first quickening of their faith, and emboldened Peter to order their baptism, since they had already received—contrary to expectation, they being mere Gentiles—the unction of the Holy One, the specific Messianic gift (Acts. ii. 16 ff., 33, after Joel ii. 28 ff.). The people of the Lord's Anointed were themselves anointed ones, according to Old Testament language. But such "sealing" of His people by the Spirit "poured forth" from the Father through Messiah's agency (Eph. i. 13 f.; Acts ii. 33), was commonly [1] manifested at baptism in the earlier Apostolic days. In Paul's epistles we get less trace of it in this form. He directs attention rather to the Spirit of adoption sent forth in the heart, crying "Abba, Father," a matter of inward experience, the Divine side as it were of faith.

Such divine ratification (Rom. viii. 15, 16) of the believer's Sonship, whether at the moment of faith or at its symbolic affirmation in baptism, has no relation to the later rite of confirmation. Of this there is no sign for a century after the Apostolic Age, Justin Martyr giving no hint of it in his careful account of baptism, about 150 A. D. In its modern Western form it is a corollary of infant baptism, of which there is not a trace in the Apostolic Age or indeed till the end of the second century. The view that it is in any way an integral part of

[1] There are no signs of it in the cases of the Eunuch and of Saul.

baptism rests on a misapprehension of the fact that in a few special cases in Acts the "falling" of the Spirit on the baptized is connected with the laying-on of Apostolic hands. The cases are exceptional. In that of the Samaritans it is clearly regarded as abnormal that the Spirit had not shown His presence in those who had believed and been baptized: and the case is recorded to show how Apostles came down to sanction the opening of the Kingdom to *a new class*, as with Cornelius and his friends, where the Spirit led the way to the wider opening of the door, and that prior even to baptism. And the case of the imperfectly evangelized disciples at Ephesus is of a like nature. In normal evangelization, where no new departure was in question, Apostolic laying-on of hands—the outward symbol of spiritual identification with another in invoking blessing on him[1]—was not held needful.

Once baptized, our Christian finds himself a full member of a brotherhood, the intimacy of whose "fellowship" (κοινωνία) far surpassed anything he had ever dreamed. Its atmosphere was love: its watchword community of interest. Hence a strange exultation of spirit, the guerdon of love. All human relations were transfigured, raised to a new power of dignity and sweetness.

[1] For this conjunction see Acts viii. 15, 17, also ix. 17, where Ananias takes part in Saul's restoration to sight (cf. James v. 14), and xiii. 3, the dimission of Barnabas and Saul. Heb. vi. 2 suggests that the baptizer laid his hand on the baptized when invoking God's blessing in acceptance of the now consecrated life. Had this been confined to Apostles, Paul would have written more guardedly in 1 Cor. i. 14–17.

Ties stronger than those of blood made him brother to all the younger fellow-members, and son to all the elder—in keeping with a natural distinction [1] upon which Jewish society rested and which entered deeply into the church life of the Apostolic Age. He saw this deep fellowship taking effect in the way in which those who had means shared them with those who lacked, as being already co-heirs in the greater things of eternity (cf. *Did.* iv. 8). But it was about the family board, where brethren in the household of faith were welcomed with sacred joy, that the fellowship to which baptism admitted reached its crown. Here the housefather, reverently taking the creatures of the heavenly Father's bounty, blessed with words of thanksgiving, and distributed among the company in remembrance of Him whose return was at first daily expected. Then did hearts burn and eyes fill with tears of love and joy. For was it not the Lord's Supper that they kept? At such Eucharists the convert would hear prayers of the type preserved in our *Didaché*, which, read in the light of Acts ii. 42, 46, point back to the probable origin and associations of the first Lord's Supper. And here a quotation may clear up several points.

"In its origin the Eucharist was not only lay, but domestic, and in the evening. To this day every pious Jew gathers his household at a table every Friday evening (Sabbath eve), and on the eves of the great festivals: blesses, sips, and distributes a cup of wine: after which he takes a piece of bread, blesses it, partakes of it, and distributes it to all present. The service is called the

[1] 1 Tim. iv. 1 f.; cf. Acts ii. 17, v. 6; 1 Pet. v. 1, 5; 1 John ii. 12 ff.; 1 Clement, as above, p. 444; Polycarp, iv., v.

Sanctification, and is an act of thanksgiving (Eucharist) for creation and all the blessings of this life. The Chief Rabbi once said in a letter to me, there can be no doubt that this custom was in use in the time of Christ. It explains some expressions of St. Paul and St. Luke,[1] especially the words, 'As oft as ye drink it.' Apart from this custom of weekly, and indeed more frequent Eucharist, we might have thought that the Christian Eucharist was meant to be annual like the Passover. But our Lord assumed that His disciples would 'drink of it' 'as often' after His death as they did before. And accordingly we find the Eucharist passed into Christian use, not as a rare and unusual interruption or an addition to their ordinary worship, but as often as they came together in the Church. Nay, the first converts at Jerusalem seem to have retained the domestic character of the Eucharist; for they are described as continuing steadfastly with one accord in the Temple, and breaking bread at home. . . . The head of every household continued to do for himself and his household what he had been accustomed to do before, only with a new and additional meaning which Christ had given to it—adding the Eucharist of Redemption to that of Creation." [2]

"How this touching observance passed from the Christian home to the Christian synagogue Scripture does not tell us, though we may conjecture." Perhaps not till Christianity passed beyond Jerusalem; for it is doubtful whether Messiah's disciples there formed regular synagogues before 70 A. D.

In any case the larger Eucharistic gatherings,

[1] To the point adduced I would add two. (1) It explains the order of the Eucharist in the *Didaché*, supported by Luke's Gospel, namely first cup, then bread. (2) It may even help to reconcile the Synoptic and Johannine account of the date and nature of the Last Supper; that is, if we may suppose that this Sanctification meal was reckoned part of the Feast which it preceded. For if so, we can easily imagine this preliminary Paschal meal becoming confused in tradition with the Paschal meal proper. John, the eyewitness, alone avoids the confusion.

[2] Canon Foxley, *Contemporary Review*, Feb. 1899, p. 181.

whenever and however they came about, were still of the nature of family gatherings. We must needs suspect that each house-church, such as that under Aquila's roof in Rome (where there were also other similar groups connected with large households), had its own sacred "breaking of bread" or Eucharistic meal, in addition to a common one whenever a meeting of the whole local *ecclesia* was possible.[1] In the same direction points the fact that Ignatius, writing to certain churches of Asia early in the second century, has to insist on the duty of having only one Eucharist, that where the bishop is present (*ad Philad.* iv.)—as if there was an older usage making people insensible to the full importance of such outward unity. This latter instinct no doubt made, from the first, for one central or common Eucharist so far as feasible: and at this the presidency was more official than in the case of smaller units. But more we cannot say, during St. Paul's lifetime at any rate.

There is no solid ground for distinguishing, for the

[1] In Rom. xvi., after saluting Prisca and Aquila and the *ecclesia* meeting at their house, Paul goes on to salute a number of groups, such as the households of Aristobulus and Narcissus, and all the saints associated with certain individuals. These must have formed inner circles of church life, even supposing they could at times all meet in a central gathering. Similarly in 1 Cor. xvi. 19 f., the church meeting at Aquila's house does not exhaust "the brethren one and all." Such relatively self-contained groups would not preclude a corporate feeling of unity; for their separateness was much less than that of the several Jewish synagogues which yet formed one community. But it would mean that at first there was little distinction between leaders and rank and file.

same period and even long after, the Eucharist from the sacred meal, called in 1 Cor. xi. the "Lord's Supper," save as the culminating stage of such fellowship. For Paul implies of the same occasion to which the Words of Institution were appropriate, that it was possible to eat greedily or be drunken. Those who had means brought their contributions in kind to the feast (as in a Greek *eranos* or subscription-supper). In these all expected to participate; though at Corinth selfishness actually allowed some to go away fasting from a meal which came in some Greek Churches to be named after its animating idea of Love (*Agapè*). Part too was reserved for the relief of the poor, especially widows and orphans. Thus the whole of such "gifts" were conceived as a sacrifice to God, because devoted to His uses,[1] and solemnly offered to Him in prayers of Thanksgiving (Eucharist) or Blessing (*Eulogia*) for His bounty in Creation and in Redemption. It was forgetfulness of the latter associations, bound up with the Last Supper and the redemptive Death then foreshadowed as the condition of future feasts of glad thanksgiving, that probably underlay the abuses at Corinth. But this very fact shows that

[1] The primitive idea of the Christian sacrifice, the Church's "gifts," is found in the Sibylline Oracles, viii. 399 ff.; "To Him set up a pure and bloodless table, full of good things, and give to the hungry bread and to the thirsty drink . . . supplying them with holy hands from thine own toils." So Polycarp finely calls widows "God's altar," on which the sacrifice (*θυσία*) of His people's gratitude was to be offered pure, *i. e.*, in love without discord, as we see from *Did.* xv. In another sense Jesus Christ is Himself the (one) altar, as in Ign. *ad Magn.* vii.

the same feast was at once a social meal and the Communion of the Body and Blood of the Christ, *i. e.*, the feeding upon His Word and Spirit,[1] symbolized first by His Body and Blood and then by the elements of daily food.

There was, then, but one sacred Christian feast having various aspects, the emphasis on which seems to have varied in different circles; and it was held, like the Last Supper, in the evening. Such was the case at Troas about 56 A. D. So was it also half a century later, when Ignatius uses "Eucharist" and *Agapé* as synonymous[2]; while Pliny's letter shows it to have been held in the evening. This letter, the official report of the governor of Bithynia to his master Trajan c. 112 A. D., gives us a vivid glimpse of Christian worship in that northwest quarter of Asia Minor. It is based on confessions extorted from ex-Christians.

"They had been wont to assemble on a stated day (the Lord's day) before dawn, and recite responsively a hymn to Christ as to a god,[3] and bind themselves with a religious vow (*sacramento*) not to the commission of any crime, but against theft, robbery, adultery, breach of trust, denial of a deposit when claimed. This

[1] This is clearly how Paul views the matter, as well from his comparison of the Christian food and drink to the manna and the water from the rock, both types of Christ (1 Cor. x. 3 f.; so John vi. 32 ff., vii. 37 ff.), as from the words "we all were given to drink of one Spirit" (xii. 13).

[2] *To Philadelphians*, iv., and *To Smyrnæans*, viii., in like contexts.

[3] So it must mean in the pagan Pliny's mouth. Of such primitive hymns we seem to have snatches in 1 Tim. iii. 16; Eph. v. 14; cf. 2 Tim. ii. 11 f., and perhaps some others of the "faithful sayings."

over, it was their custom to separate and again meet for a meal, of an open and innocent nature; which very thing they had ceased to do after my edict, in which by your orders I forbade club meetings."

It is often, indeed, assumed that the Eucharist cannot be included in the evening meal here in question; otherwise Christians would never have given it up, even when it clashed with state regulations. But the fact is that those who gave it up had ceased to rank as Christians; the edict was just what had severed them from their bolder brethren. Accordingly we may repeat, that throughout the whole of the Apostolic Age and even later the Eucharist, or Lord's Supper in our sense, was still part of the Church's sacred feast of fellowship. It was the Godward side of the feast, and had itself two aspects. On the one hand Christians thanked God for the gifts of Creation, and offered to Him therefrom for sacred ends "gifts" or "first-fruits" of grateful homage, the "sacrifice" of praise. On the other, they blessed Him for gifts of grace in the redemptive life and death of Christ,[1] through whom they were heirs of life and incorruption. The former of these aspects has fallen sadly into the background, the "sacramental offering" for the poor being the

[1] In this, the specific Christian reference, several ideas blended, now one, now another, being uppermost, viz: those of (1) Passover, (2) Covenant Blood (Ex. xxiv. 8), (3) Sanctifying or Atoning Sacrifice (cf. Heb. x.), (4) Spiritual Food of the regenerate (John vi.). These shade off into each other the more easily that, to Hebrew and ancient thought in general, "the notions of Communion and Atonement are bound up together," through the piacular use of life (blood).

only clear survival of it in most communion services.

The early morning service was a simple devotional service of praise and prayer, at which apparently the Bithynian Christians were wont solemnly to renew their pact with God, first made in baptism, to live a consecrated, pure, and honest life. Its spirit is admirably brought out by Tertullian's definition of the Christian Society in his *Apology* at the end of the second century (chapter xxxix.). "We are a body joined together by a sense of religious allegiance, the divine nature of our rule of life (*disciplina*), and the bond of hope."

In considering the picture just given of primitive Church fellowship, the mind inevitably turns to comparisons with our own day. The contrasts are striking, and it is vain to ignore them: but it is equally vain to condemn the later usages simply because they are not altogether as the earlier. So to judge, is to "turn the gospel into a second Levitical code," by "making the Apostolic history into a set of authoritative precedents, to be rigorously copied without regard to time and place." But this is to forget that the Apostolic Age itself gradually transferred its allegiance from the Sabbath to the Lord's day: that the gospel is the religion not of the letter but of the Spirit: that the forms in which the evangelic life found expression took shape spontaneously and not as the result of any legislative acts on the part of the *Ecclesia* for its own generation, much less for the many generations that it never dreamed would follow at all.

For the first and most radical contrast is that of general outlook. The Apostolic Age was instinct with the belief that Christ would return before the generation of His first witnesses had died away: and much of its aloofness of attitude towards ordinary human interests, all that may be called culture as distinct from sanctity, was bound up with this human illusion. Wider experience of God's ways has brought another and larger conception of His counsels for His Kingdom on earth. It is received not only as sword and fire in the moral order of the world, but also as leaven. In a legitimate sense the Church is now acclimatized to its permanent place and function in society at large.

That along with this change of perspective should go minor changes, was but natural. And to such modifications both the rites since called Sacraments bear witness. Infant baptism is not an Apostolic usage.[1] It is not only that there is no trace of it in the first century: but the very idea of baptism then universal, namely as a rite of faith's self-consecration (often outwardly ratified by manifestations of the Spirit), is inconsistent therewith. But this does not settle the matter. Infant baptism may be a legitimate development in usage, to meet conditions not contemplated in the Apostolic Age. From the na-

[1] In the matter of outward form, whether immersion or affusion (copious sprinkling over the head), primitive Christians were indifferent. It was mere matter of convenience (*Did.* vii.). St. Paul's comparison of baptism to burial, shows immersion to have been the usual method; but his deep mystic thought on the matter was probably all his own (Rom. vi. 2 ff.; cf. 1 Pet. iii. 21, for a kindred mystic idea).

ture of the case, at a time when the Parousia filled the Church's horizon, the problem of the status and training of the very young would be but little considered. Doubtless the child of Christian parents was considered as in a sense sanctified by its very Christian parentage (1 Cor. vii. 14), and was reared "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." But the status of such children even in infancy had not yet received such attention as to be defined by the symbolism of a religious rite. Yet once the problem comes to be faced, it is clear that adult baptism is a different thing for one reared a pagan and for a child of a Christian home. In the latter case it has a belated look that gives it an artificiality utterly alien to its first reality. Accordingly it was natural to modify the time of the rite in such cases, a modification which should have been accompanied by a corresponding change in the conception of its relation to salvation. In the case of an adult believer it had sealed an already realized fact:[1] in the case of an infant it could be but a symbol of its birthright, then and there of value to the parents and to the Church, and of high pedagogic value to the child's opening consciousness. It is only too probable that this sense of the changed meaning did not always accompany the change in the rite, when it began to creep in very slowly from the end of the second century.[2] But this simply

[1] This was the idea at the root of the practice at Corinth of vicarious baptism for those known to have died as believers (1 Cor. xv. 29). It also comes out clearly in 1 Pet. iii. 21; cf. Acts xv. 9.

[2] The striking thing about infant baptism is the slow and partial nature of its advance, as if, in its unqualified sense, it violated an older idea of salvation.

means that the earlier idea of salvation was waning. In the Reformed communions of the West at least this has been variously recognized by the restoration of a solemn act of personal confession—by confirmation or otherwise—through which the status of full church-membership is attained.

A similar development is seen in the Holy Communion. This is seldom noticed, but is none the less the fact. Not only has the offering of the people's gifts as sacrifice of praise practically disappeared, but the form of administration no longer provides for the social "fellowship" of believers in the *Agapé* or Love-feast aspect of the service. As Dr. Hort observes (*Life and Letters*, ii. 343):

"The corporate communion was not merely a universal characteristic of the Eucharist, but its very essence. Before all things it is the feast of a brotherhood united in a Divine Head, setting forth as the fundamental law of their existence the law of sacrifice, towards each other and towards Him, which had been made a reality by His supreme Sacrifice."

An attempt was made in some of the Reformed Churches to remedy this defect, as later in the Methodist "Love-feast." But the effort after exact reproduction has not prospered, and that just because it was artificial. It too much ignored the changed conditions, whether as to the less domestic place of church-meeting, the larger members of those partaking, or the sheer change in the character of social meals.[1] Accordingly even those who most scruple about departure from Apostolic models are all uncon-

[1] The modern equivalent of *Agapé* fellowship is a Church "tea-meeting" conducted in a worthy spirit.

sciously guilty of what they deplore. The fact is that some changes, even material changes, in ecclesiastical usage are inevitable. The greatest violation of Apostolic piety is blindly to fight against this. For the thing most distinctive of the Apostolic Age is the spontaneous simplicity of its usages. They were simple only because they were in terms of current habits and expressed the piety of a simple gospel.

In the wise words of Dr. Hort,[1] "the Apostolic Age is full of embodiments of purposes and principles of the most instructive kind: but the responsibility of choosing the means was left forever to the *Ecclesia* itself, and to each *Ecclesia*, guided by ancient precedent on the one hand and adaptation to present and future needs on the other. The lesson-book of the *Ecclesia*, and of every *Ecclesia*, is not a law but a history." Only let every *Ecclesia* be fully persuaded in its own mind that it is rightly interpreting the very genius of primitive piety.

[1] *The Christian Ecclesia* (p. 232 f.), a book to which the reader is referred for details as to much in this and the next chapter.

CHAPTER II.

Organization and Discipline.

MOST of the materials for this chapter have already been laid before the reader in their proper historical connections. And in essaying a connected summary of their bearing on the organization of the *Ecclesia* in the Apostolic Age, it is essential to keep their special contexts steadily in mind. Much of the confusion marking theories of the ministry is due to neglect of this rule: the result being the arbitrary juxtaposition of facts which never really existed together in one and the same type of *ecclesia*. Further there are several general considerations conducive to a genuinely historical reading of the facts.

First, one must relate organization to the spirit of the life that is organized. This was essentially fraternal. Church life was above all things mutual fellowship, a coöperation of all the members of each *ecclesia*, conceived as members of an organism or body, for the ends common to all. These may be summed up as the realization of the Christ-life, individually and collectively. To serve this end of ends was the vocation of each and all. All ministered thereto according to ability or "gift," with goods material or spiritual. This general ministry

was so realized that it is doubtful whether any notion of a regular ministry as distinct from the Saints existed at all to begin with. The distinction was probably one which only grew up as the specialization of functions, resting on gifts, took actual shape before their eyes.

This emphasis on the universality of the ministerial life sprang from a deep sense of the Holy Spirit as animating the Saints, collectively and individually, to a degree which we can now but feebly realize. To fail to grasp this fact and perceive its moulding influence on all aspects of organized Christian fellowship, is simply to think in another world from theirs. The major premiss of every true conclusion as to the ministry of the Apostolic Age must be the outpouring of the Spirit, hailed by Peter at Pentecost as the mark of the Messianic times. In it Moses' ideal that all the Lord's people should be prophets was in substance fulfilled. Accordingly in their worship, as we see from 1 Cor. xiv., any believer was free to edify his fellows by "psalm, teaching, revelation, tongue, interpretation," as well as prayer or Eucharist. Whatever limitations expediency came in time to impose on this more diffused ministry, the idea involved had, and has, abiding force: and it was not the idea underlying the later distinction between "clergy" and "laity." We see then, already, that it is important to go behind the familiar terms, "the ministry," "deacons," "elders," "bishops," and ask what was their relation to the whole body of their fellow-members in the common work of worship and

mutual edification. We must discover the various forms of ministry through which the *Ecclesia* "built itself up in love," by the Divine energies at work in it, and so find inductively the scope of the offices in which such functions gradually took shape. For the order, in idea and in fact too, was, first function, then special functionary or office-bearer.

Having thus adjusted the idea of organization to the genius of the new life, we can consider the actual forms which it assumed as time went on. The variety of these and their gradual emergence show that such matters were not fixed from the first by an "Apostolic constitution," as the later Church soon fell to imagining.

As Canon Robinson of Westminster recently put it: "Church order is from the beginning a sacred growth, directed by the constant presence within of the Holy Spirit, so as to meet the needs of a living and multiplying society: it is not a scheme delivered by the Lord to the Apostles, and by the Apostles to the Church; the Body of the Christ is an organism rather than an organization." Indeed, he agrees with Dr. Hort in declaring, that "there is no trace in Scripture of a formal commission of authority for government from Christ Himself" to the Apostles at all. Such moral authority as they came to exercise "was the providential outcome of their commission to bear witness of Christ," not "the result of a special and definite commission of authority for government." The justice of this view becomes the clearer when we recall Christ's own distinction between the nature of authority in His society and that in other so-

cieties, both civil and religious (Mark x. 42 ff.; Matt. xxiii. 8–10). "One is your teacher, and all ye are brethren," is the maxim among disciples. The commission of the Apostles was for witness to the facts on which the society rests, not for its government. The "power of the keys" was the power to define the conditions of entrance to the society, as in the cases of the Samaritans and of Cornelius. "Power of the keys," in the sense of discipline, was a matter for the whole local brotherhood in the last resort (Matt. xviii. 15 ff.). The authority of moral influence naturally attached to Apostles as primary witnesses and Fathers of the churches in that sense: and so "an ill-defined but lofty authority in matters of government and administration" was conceded to them "by the spontaneous homage of the Christians of Judæa." But, though higher in degree, this was the same in kind as the authority spontaneously conceded—often beyond what is desired or accepted—to pioneer missionaries to-day. They are to their converts what the Apostles were to theirs; and there is as little thought of constitutional relations in the one case as there was in the other. Such ideas arise only later: the moral authority of the man who begets a community in the gospel is practically unlimited. But in theory, as we look back to learn the lessons of the first age, the difference is very great between institutions as moulded by the moral authority of the prime missionaries of Christendom, or by the obligatory authority of those claiming to fulfil a commission for Church government. The former fits all the facts, the other does not.

Particularly is this the case with the Apostolic outlook as reflected in Acts i. 8. Men who were asking whether their Lord was then and there "restoring the Kingdom to Israel," had obviously no notion of the very need of special governmental commission in their own hands. They went forward "witnessing" until their Lord should Himself intervene, as they expected He might do any day. Later growing experience changed their perspective. And thus all organization of the *Ecclesia* took place under the pressure of felt need and, as we shall now see, along the lines of the religious habits native to each circle of converts. The resulting arrangements were as divine—under the conditions for which they were developed—as was the Life whose impulses they expressed and furthered, as the quality of the human spirits in which the pressure of the Spirit was interpreted and obeyed. Thus they are the classic precedents of the Church: but like all precedents they need reinterpretation in order that their spirit may be "fulfilled," as Christ fulfilled the Law.

It is noteworthy how little attention is given in Acts to the origins of organization.[1] The reason of this is that such matters called for no explanation. As long as its members were mainly Jews, the New Israel would naturally organize, when need arose,

[1] The one seeming exception, that of the Seven, only proves the rule. Their appointment is recorded not for its own sake, but in order to introduce Stephen in his proper context, as a representative of the freer Hellenistic tendency in the Jerusalem Church, and so lead up to his epoch-marking speech.

on the lines of the Old.[1] The new spirit of their fellowship of itself made new all that it touched. Thus "elders" appear as a matter of course, when first alluded to. It is only when mainly Gentile Churches arose in South Galatia that the appointment of elders, at the initiative of Paul and Barnabas, is thought worth mentioning. For there other arrangements were possible. And no doubt the different habitudes of the Gentile converts did elsewhere lead to types of organization less and less on Jewish lines. The typical case in the Apostolic Age is that of Corinth: while a little later we get at Philippi mention of two distinct types of ministry, that of "overseers and deacons." This does not mean that such ministries themselves had no equivalents in more Jewish churches: but it may be that terminology had not there become so specialized, and that the time-honored title of "elders" still covered the official ministry without further differentiation. For there can be no doubt that the tendency of Jewish organization was towards the patriarchal type, the great distinction in the community being between seniors and juniors,[2] and administration and discipline falling by general consent to certain leading heads of families, *the* elders in an official sense. On Jewish soil, and where Greek habits had not grafted the democratic

[1] For full proof of this the writer would refer to the first part of his paper on "The development of the historic Episcopate," in the *Contemporary Review* for June, 1894.

[2] Compare 1 Pet. v. 1–5, where general oversight of the community by its seniors seems implied, as also Titus ii. 1 ff., where oversight of the younger women by the elder is definitely enjoined.

element of formal election upon the simpler stock, such representation of the community rested on tacit or informal consent.

But among the Diaspora it is probable that more Hellenic methods soon came into play. There we must allow for various blends of the two types of leadership, the patriarchal (elders) and that of officers elected for specific functions, as in the religious guilds and associations. Hence in the second part of the *Didaché*, representing circles of a mixed or Hellenistic order, we have soon after 60 A. D. "overseers and deacons," as at Philippi; while yet it is probable that both [1] would be called also "elders," in the general sense of "office-bearers" as distinct from the community. This is so far confirmed by the state of things at Ephesus about the same time, where there were certainly among the "presiding elders" some exercising "oversight" (1 Tim. v. 17, iii. 1 ff.). The case is more obscure as regards "deacons." But the fact that we never in the Apostolic Age get "elders and deacons" in one breath, like "overseers and deacons," may mean that it was only after the emergence of the single overseer or bishop that the term "elder" lost its more general sense, and became specialized to describe the senior colleagues of the chief pastor who now monopolized the term "overseer," before applied to the senior officers as a body. [2] That "overseer" sometimes at

[1] We have already seen that they are described by the same adjectives indicative of their functions.

[2] Thus Polycarp, the bishop of Smyrna early in the second century, can, according to his own local usage, speak of "the presbyters and deacons" at Philippi, whereas Paul had spoken of "overseers and deacons."

least began by being used to describe the function of certain elders rather than as a definite official title, is probable from Acts xx. 28, where Paul says to "the elders of the Church" of Ephesus that the Holy Spirit had set them "as overseers, to shepherd the *Ecclesia* of God." Similarly we have the function of "ministering" [1] spoken of before we hear of "ministers" in the narrower sense of "deacons" (the Greek is the same); and we hear of men entering on the function of their own motion. Paul is found bespeaking the Corinthian Church's recognition of them in this capacity. Believers are bidden "submit themselves to such, and to every one that shares their work and labor." This looks like the combination in the hands of a group of volunteer ministers of functions later performed by two classes of men to whom two terms, first descriptively and then officially or technically, were appropriated. The difference, when it arose, may have turned largely on age, ability, and weight; so that the one class supervised, while the other did more of the drudgery of the actual work. To the same result points the fact that the same qualifications are at first named for the two classes, entirely so in the *Didaché*, for the most part so in 1 Timothy iii. And in this latter passage, it is remarkable that the capacity for lead or rule (proved first at home) is demanded of

[1] 1 Cor. xvi. 15. So in Rom. xvi. 1 f., Phœbe is described as ministering to the Church of Cenchreæ in a large and influential sense, whereby she was "patroness" of many (as Christ is "Patron of souls" in 1 Clem. lxi. 3). She was what we should call a "benefactress" of the Church. For the later and humbler sense of "deaconess," see Pliny's famous letter to Trajan.

both (iv. 12); whereas to the later idea of "deacons" this quality would have little relevance. We conclude, then, that the functions of "oversight" and "diaconate" only gradually diverged; might well have been shared among a body of Jewish or semi-Jewish elders (by a sort of natural selection based largely on age); and that even where discharged by two groups of officers formally distinguished from each other, these men were for a time viewed as colleagues differing only in dignity.

Of the basis of this difference there is perhaps a hint in 1 Tim. v. 17, in the greater honor due to such "presiding elders" (*i. e.*, official elders, including "overseers and deacons") as "labor in word and teaching"; for it is "aptness for teaching" that most distinguishes "overseer" from "deacon" in the qualifications demanded (1 Tim. iii. 1 ff.). If so, we are able to carry the distinction further back, and relate it to the fundamental list of ministerial functions or gifts that are found in 1 Cor. xii. 28. For there we have "helps," "guidances," closing the series. The former is the spirit qualifying for all ministries of relief, the later for those of spiritual counsel, *i. e.*, "labor in the Word and teaching." It is altogether characteristic that in the early days of the gospel the helping hand was more prominent—so named first—in the later, the wise head; just as we saw that "deacons" tend to recede in importance as time goes on. For this change of perspective there was a twofold reason, connected with the specifically Christian factor modifying the application of the Jewish and Gentile precedents adopted, as we

have seen, into the church organization. We refer to the place of *charismatic* gifts in the Apostolic Age.

If Judaism supplied the patriarchal element, in the elder with his care for the morals of the flock; if Græco-Roman society contributed the benefactor with aptitude for administration of relief and kindly lead;[1] the Gospel itself contributed spiritual gifts. As the Spirit divided to each man severally as He willed, He thereby placed the gifted man in the Church in his given capacity (1 Cor. xii. 28), whether as "overseer" (in Acts xx. 28) or otherwise. Such men were the Risen Lord's gifts to His Church (Eph. iv. 8, 11). To enter fully into this conception of the divine origin of ministry, is to be at home with organization in the Apostolic Age; to fail here is to lose the key. The prime gifts, then, to the Church in general were "apostles (in the wide sense of the *Didaché*), prophets, teachers;" men whose spiritual endowment of itself, and without any human intervention, made them founders and fosterers of the spiritual life of local churches. Among such they would continue to exercise an itinerant ministry of spiritual stimulus and guidance. It was not their function to become officers of any one church, though as time went on prophets and teachers did in

[1] 1 Thess. v. 12; Rom. xii. 8, xvi. 2; 1 Tim. v. 17; Tit. iii. 14, where the idea of guardianship (προίστασθαι) occurs in various forms; cf. 1 Tim. iii. 5, where it is synonymous with "take care of" (ἐπιμελεῖσθαι). A beautiful instance of the spirit of personal guardianship, is furnished by the story of John and the young convert, who turned wild and was recovered from his brigand life by the personal exertions of the aged Apostle.

some cases settle down to a more or less stationary ministry.

At first the local ministry was supplied through other gifts of the Spirit. There were in each church men who showed the gift of prophecy and inspired teaching (particularly on the basis of the Scriptures) in a measure that fell short of that which called men to the more general ministry of "prophets" proper (1 Thess. v. 19; 1 Cor. i. 5 f., xi. 4 f., xiv. 1 ff., 26, 31). On such men at first devolved the ministry in public worship. Their gift itself was their sufficient title, or rather it imposed a duty to use it as a trust for all. It was their divine commission. How liberally this was understood may be seen from the one restriction enjoined by St. Paul in the interests of order, viz: that not more than one at a time should speak (1 Cor. xiv. 27 ff.). All that the church did in the matter was to recognize the gift as of God, in virtue of its own general endowment by the same Spirit; so that this recognition was at once human and divine. But at first nothing of a formal nature was done, at least at Corinth, to mark off such as ministers of the Word. They performed the functions of their respective gifts, and the church was edified; that was all that was at first felt needful.

Nor was it otherwise with the humblest gifts of succor and wise counsel, named last on Paul's list. These too, as we have seen, inspired a voluntary devotion to the corresponding needs of the brethren in the more practical details of daily life. And the Apostle claims for them loyal recognition,

for the good work done (1 Cor. xvi. 15 ff.; 1 Thess. v. 12, 13). But as yet there is no sign in Corinth, of which we know most, of formal appointment to any office. The converts of most weight and judgment probably exercised some sort of informal control of the conduct of worship, as in the Jewish synagogue, where "the rulers" did not conduct but rather regulated worship. There "for just the acts proper to public worship—the reading of the Scriptures, teaching and prayer—no special officials were appointed." So was it for a time in the Christian assemblies. But as the *ecclesia* outgrew its family character and became more of a public institution for its members, experience taught the need of more formal selection among those anxious to minister in one way or another. Hence regular appointment (*κατάστασις*) by the Church marked off certain men as fittest for office, after the manner of the religious societies familiar to most Greek converts. This process took different forms in different types of churches, according as the converts came mainly from the proselyte class or direct from paganism. But in all cases the essence of the matter was a "testing" (*dokimasia*) of a man's gifts or qualities in a church-meeting. The points enquired into, in the case of one aspiring to "oversight" and "diaconate" respectively, are given in 1 Tim. iii, 1 ff., 8 ff. In the latter case it is said, "and let these also (as well as would-be 'overseers') be first approved on enquiry, and then let them minister, being found blameless." Entry upon office followed as matter of course on such "approval." If there was, as is

possible, any formal setting apart of men who passed the testing and were chosen by the Church as fit and proper persons for regular ministry (see *Didaché* xv. pp. 335 f.), it is not named, as not being essential. Such ordination simply sealed qualifications proved to be already present: there was nothing further to confer. Henceforth such men were "appointed (καταστα θέντες) elders," as distinct from the general body of elders or seniors to whom belonged special weight and honor in the community. Ordination, to use the term by anticipation, simply gave ministerial rank (*ordo*) and made regular the exercise of gifts and graces already approved in their possessors —a distinction the need of which was not at first felt. The form of such setting apart came in course of time to be by laying-on of hands, though we have no instance of the sort in the Apostolic Age, save in the case of the Seven in Acts vi. 6. And there it is not represented as conferring any spiritual grace —they were set apart because "full of (the) Spirit and wisdom"—but as expressing appointment to a given service, after a familiar Jewish usage. The other cases are of another kind: for laying-on of hands was used in other connections than that of appointment.[1] Nowhere in the Apostolic Age "have we any information about the manner in

[1] *E. g.*, Acts ix. 12, 17, the case of Ananias and Saul. In Acts xiii. 3, men use this rite in setting apart to a special mission men of greater grace than themselves. This setting apart took place in obedience to the Spirit in certain "prophets": and similarly it was by like prophetic monition that Timothy was sent forth on a unique mission in the like way (1 Tim. i. 18, iv. 14; 2. Tim. i. 6. See Hort, 171 ff. 215 *f.*).

which elders were consecrated or ordained to their office."

"Of officers higher than elders," says Dr. Hort once more, "we find nothing that points to an institution or system, nothing like the Episcopal system of later times. In the New Testament the word *Episkopos* as applied to men, mainly, if not always, is *not* a title, but a description of the elder's function." Many would except Phil. i. 1, from the latter rule. But the former holds not only for the New Testament but for Clement's Epistle also. *Episkopoi* or overseers (bishops), then, are always found as a body of officers in a single local Church: and no function is as yet definitely concentrated in the hands of one *Episkopos* in such a sense as to put him in an order by himself. The nearest approach to this before 70 (besides James' position at Jerusalem due to personal and family reasons), appears in the temporary functions entrusted to Timothy and Titus as representing St. Paul in the completion of organization in Ephesus and Crete respectively. But they were not permanent local officers, only Apostolic assistants on detached service. Thus the first real forerunner of the single or monarchical bishop, as found in the Ignatian Epistles (c. 110–115 A. D.), is Diotrephes, who seems to have been paramount in his church. Yet there is no sign that even he was superior in status, rather than influence, to his fellow-elders.

It is possible, however, that in the last years of the first century things were setting steadily towards the emergence of a third order distinct from elders

or presbyter-bishops, as these were now becoming more marked off from deacons. This may be inferred from the Ignatian letters some fifteen or twenty years later; although even then, Ignatius, as his insistent tone implies, writes not as an historian, describing facts, but rather as a prophet impressing an ideal. In his advocacy of the single bishop as centre of visible unity in each church, he had his eye on the needs of the future rather than on the facts of the past.[1] He saw in the actual predominance of a presiding elder or bishop, *primus inter pares*[2]—as found at Antioch and in certain developed churches in the province of Asia, and nowhere else to our knowledge, save in the person of the Lord's kinsman, Symeon—the best guarantee of outward order at a time when centrifugal tendencies were strong. Accordingly he tried to strengthen the bishop's position by furnishing it with a new theoretic basis. But the striking thing is that, while fertile in ideal arguments and analogies, he never claims for his favorite institution Apostolic origin or commission: and this in the region where John's name was of supreme authority. As Dr. Moberly justly observes: "It is only as the symbol of unity

[1] See Sanday, *Expositor*, Dec. 1888, p. 326; Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 370 f.

[2] An elder of strong personality and gifts might reach this position through prolonged exercise of some leading function once shared by all elders. Thus high gifts for Eucharistic prayer or for administering the charity and hospitality of the Church—with which might go the duties of church-secretary—could give the slight start alone needed to bring into view the advantages of a single head to a college of officers.

that the bishop is magnified." Ignatius therefore fully supports Jerome's account of the rise of the single pastor or bishop, namely "that the germs of factions might be removed." And in this light the development was a valuable one, so expedient that the vast majority of churches to-day make it the keystone of organization—the last addition, making firm the rest of the arch.

But, be it observed, the unit of organization still is the single city church or congregation. There is no trace of the subordination of the chief local pastor or bishop of one such congregation to that of another. Episcopacy is still congregational, not diocesan. The story of the latter development belongs to the Post-Apostolic Church, and to that of the third rather than the second century. The Apostolic Age leaves us at the meeting-place of modern organization, not at its dividing-point. So far, the *Ecclesia* presents to us two units, one at either end of the scale, the local unit and the universal society. The former is that with which organized fellowship has mainly to do, the unit of practical, habitual relations: the latter is that of ideal fellowship, in which the spirit untrammeled by restraints can expand itself. And it may truly be said that this larger unity was never so intensely realized, and acted upon, as occasion offered, by way of hospitality and all spontaneous expressions of mutual love and interest, as in the Apostolic Age, when the whole was least organized on hierarchical lines. The brotherly feeling is finely expressed in the Eucharistic prayers of the *Didaché* and 1 Clement; and quotations might

be multiplied to show the practical forms which it took. But never was each *ecclesia* more autonomous in relation to every sister *ecclesia;* and never was the activity of each member as an integral and responsible part of each church more pronounced. This comes out not only in the popular election of its own officers, but also in the coöperation of the whole church in all church business, particularly the vital matter of discipline.

It is clear from 2 Cor. ii. 6, where mention is made of an award made by the majority, that discipline was an affair of the church as a whole. The same is implied in Matt. xviii. 15 ff., and also in 1 Clement, where a man is imagined acting as bidden by the mass of his fellows (τὸ πλῆθος). But so deep-rooted was this feeling that each church itself was the guardian of its own purity, that our most vivid account of a discipline-case comes from a writing of the third century, which underwent revision in the fourth century without even then losing this trait. If a case of wrong arise between Christians, and they cannot be got to settle it privately, "let your judicial sessions be held on the second day of the week. . . . When, then, both parties arrive, even as the law saith, let those at issue severally stand forth. And when ye have heard them, record your votes holily, trying all the while to reconcile them before sentence is uttered by the bishop." Similarly in cases of alleged evil living.[1] Here the brethren are literally a church-court, presided over

[1] *Apostolical Constitutions*, ii. 47, based on the earlier *Didaskalia:* cf. Tertullian, *Apol.* 39.

by the local officers, the verdict being brought in by a majority vote. This is Apostolic church life, where fellowship (*Koinōnia*) issues in responsible coöperation by all in the interests of each and all. For, says Dr. Hort, "we cannot properly speak of an organization of a community from which the greater part of its members are excluded." Rather the officers of the *ecclesia* are "organs of its corporate life for special purposes: so that the offices of an *ecclesia* at any time are only a part of its organization" (*Christian Ecclesia* 229 f.).

The New Society took seriously the application to its life of the New Law of Christ. Space will not allow us to show how the supreme duty of Love towards all that the Father loves—one's own soul and that of one's fellows—worked as a leaven, purifying life, personal and social. Truly was it said[1] that brotherly love (*philadelphia*) fosters every virtue, but "misanthropy" every vice. But the very practical way in which this was taken may be illustrated from one writing,[2] setting forth the new ethical ideal for the laity. It warns against the overreaching temper (πλεονεξία) as the great solvent of communion; against the spirit of retaliation; against a spirit over-curious as to the doings of worldly society,

[1] In the so-called *Epistle of Clement to James.*

[2] Book i. of the so-called *Apost. Constitutions*, which has probably a very primitive basis. For this, as for the older elements in Bks. i.–vi. of this collection of church regulations as a whole, we have now not only the Syriac *Didaskalia* but also the old Latin version, which is even closer to the original Greek (edited by E. Hauler in Teubner's Classical Series, 1900).

instead of minding its own business and meditating on the Law, the Kingly Books, the Prophets, and the Gospel which is the fulfilment of their essence; and finally against seeking admiration by personal adornment, as placing temptation in the way of others, if not in one's own. The latter advice is given to both sexes in turn: and this care for others is a fine touch which brings home vividly the new heart of love that had been given to humanity. This love, the love of reverence not of natural impulse, was the peculiar glory of the Gospel. It was kindled from the higher, the spiritual side, by a new idea of humanity as called to be a partaker in the divine nature. But it was lifted above the vagueness and practical impotence of Platonic love, by being rooted in a divine-human life that had actually been lived on earth amid conditions so simple, and even hard, as to show the way of divine sonship to lie open to the lowliest and most despised. And so a new idea of the worth of human personality—of "the soul," which now gained a new depth of meaning—fired the inmost heart and extended its passion through the emotional nature of man, until his whole being was spiritualized. A reverential pathos, at the contrast between man as he was and man seen in the light of Redemption—man as related to the heavenly Father and the holy Saviour, the Son of Man—this mastered the Christian spirit and made it a new thing. Here lies the sacred spring of spiritual love and self-sacrifice that has lifted the world, and made Christendom, with all its shortcomings, a different world from that before—humaner, tenderer,

humbler, holier, morally braver—in a word, more redemptive. Historically, the enthusiasm of humanity is a creation of the Life and Death of Christ. Its original and one enduring basis is the idea of human value there exhibited and enforced.

Even to enumerate the points at which this master thought touched human life, sanctifying and modifying all its relations would carry us now too far. No convention of age, sex, condition, culture, but felt its power. Disabilities connected with the name of child, woman, barbarian, slave, were in principle cancelled within the New Society. But it had as yet no power to change the usages of society at large, nor felt this to be its mission. It simply referred to the Lord's expected Return the changing of the framework of society: so that even the servile condition as such (which under good masters differed little, if at all, from free domestic service), did not seem a matter of much concern. Manhood was at once emancipated, for the freemen of the Lord; and the Epistle to Philemon sets forth a fraternal relation which had in it the seed of the social change that could not tarry long. Heathen vice, too, took on a new and darker hue. Lying, quarreling, backbiting, became what they were not before, sins.

And so the silent but mighty social revolution went forwards; and in the little communities around the Mediterranean were being laid the foundations of a new conscience, a new moral order. But few of those who were quietly, patiently, building act on act in the face of obloquy and derision, were aware of the scope of their task. To a Paul, indeed, it

was given to see the grand outline of the New Humanity, the Body of which the Second Adam was Head, and something of the sweep of the eternal purpose inferred from the great Cornerstone and the rudiments of the building rising under his own eyes. For the rest, it was enough that amid much foreshortening of perspective, amid many illusions of imagination, and with not a few failures in its membership, the Christian *Ecclesia* of God was in simple loyalty doing from day to-day what the King of the Ages gave to their hand to do.

CHAPTER III.

Types of Doctrine

AS hinted in the closing sentences of our last chapter, it is in Paul alone of the first Christian generation that we discern such insight into the ultimate bearings of the Gospel, as could relate it to the past and future of humanity at large. And Paul's philosophy of history from the religious stand-point, remained very much his own. For his distinctive conceptions, styled collectively Paulinism, sprang not so much from his intellect—though that was exceptional—as from a religious experience of extraordinary depth and inwardness. Other types of Christian thinking were more easily assimilated by the later Apostolic Age, well represented by Clement's Epistle, just because the religious experience behind them was not so original. We must try, then, to gather up the hints already thrown out as to the various aspects under which the gospel was apprehended, and to indicate their mutual relations.

The Messianic Salvation of Jesus was conceived by the early Palestinian *Ecclesia* on distinctly national lines. It was the special prerogative of Jehovah's Chosen People, "the People" to use their favorite phrase. Jesus Messiah was to "save His

People from their sins." In Acts and the non-Pauline Epistles of the period the old contrast between the People and the Nations persists even in relation to the gospel. Salvation remains largely a corporate conception, Messianic well-being in a renewed Israel as such:[1] and this really colored all the related ideas, "righteousness," "faith," "holiness," and the like, while it presupposed a speedy visible Return. Here the main point religiously that calls for note, is that the more external aspect of being "added" to a community in possession of the pledge of Forgiveness and the Hope of near Salvation, overshadowed the inner, experimental, or subjective state of the heart in the individual believer. The community or *Ecclesia* had dissociated itself collectively from the corporate guilt of a crooked and perverse Israel (shown in the crucifixion of Messiah) by the purificatory act of baptism: and its acceptance as the nucleus of Messiah's kingdom had been sealed by the Holy Spirit "falling upon" its members. But while the Holy Spirit was regarded as quickening and purifying the inner life, so as to qualify for membership in the consecrated People; yet the more spiritual aspect of His abiding action as the author and sustainer of the moral life of the individual, seems to have been less realized than the striking exhibitions of supernatural power in the speaking with tongues and prophesying. Such was the normal Judæo-Christian outlook in the early Apostolic Age. And though men like Peter, John, and James the Lord's brother, came in time to take other and deeper views of the

[1] Acts vii. 25, iv. 10–12; cf. Luke i. 77.

New Life of which they were conscious; yet this probably continued to hold good of the Palestinian *ecclesia* in general; and even in their own case we must allow for the influence of one not of their original circle, Paul the ex-Pharisee.

Before his advent there is no sign that any one had learned to see glory in the Cross. It was accepted as a mysterious dispensation, foretold in prophecy and justified by the Resurrection. But at first its connection with salvation was not perceived, such a thing having no place in the Jewish Messianic expectation, through which chiefly they saw the Christian facts. This lack, as we have seen, helped to create the situation which the Epistle to the Hebrews aims at meeting.[1] And though a Peter or a John had long ere this seen in Christ's blood a sacrifice for sin, on the lines of prophecies like Is. liii., even they saw little in the Cross beyond the bare fact of loving self-sacrifice. To Paul on the other hand it was the very symbol of salvation. The reason of this contrast, and of that in relation to the Law, we must now seek. It leads us straight to the heart of Paulinism.

A thoughtful modern Jew has said: "Jesus seems to expand and spiritualize Judaism; Paul in some sense turns it upside down." In what sense, and why? The different attitudes of the Master and the disciple to the Law is the obvious answer. But whence the difference? Early in our study we saw

[1] Heb. vi. 1 f., gives the elements of their faith, and omits it. Similarly there is no reference to it in the Eucharistic prayers of the *Didaché*.

that Jesus' own attitude to the Law was twofold—dutifulness, combined with sovereign freedom as to its letter in the interest of its inmost spirit. To this the primitive Apostles in the main adhered, though they only gradually realized the full bearings of the freer aspect. But Paul's attitude to the Law was quite different: and the reason is to be sought in the difference of his previous attitude as Saul the Pharisee. In a word it is this: Jesus had never thought of the Law as a means of winning salvation, nor had His simple, humble-minded Galilean followers; but this is just the light in which Saul had come to regard it, through his professional Pharisaic training. And the recoil was in proportion. To the former the Law was a divine aid to piety furnished by paternal goodness; to the latter it was the code by fulfilment of which Righteousness was to be established in God's sight and the favor of the High and Holy One merited. The stimulus to human effort applied by the latter conception taken seriously—Saul took it very seriously—was intense, and the internal travail corresponding. In the process his soul came to a degree of self-knowledge, in the sphere of moral inability and its causes, which was unique in the history of mankind; and his distinctive theology is the result, in terms of the deliverance from so great and direful bondage. In other words, he knew from experience, as none other, what the Law could not do; and on the dark cloud of that knowledge the light of Grace shone with added lustre.

But, it will be asked, was not Paul's original attitude to the Law an artificial, a morbid one—a mere

abuse of a good thing? No doubt it was so largely.[1] Yet it is true to the effect of Law upon human nature as it is, generating in man's egoism and selfhood the legal principle of self-justification. And unless the actual workings of the natural man under the stimulus of Law had been brought to light by the remorseless logic of the Pauline experience, the true nature of grace, as presupposed in any wholesome relation to Law, would not have been placed in relief.[2] A moral ambiguity would have lurked for all time even in the gospel.

The classic record of this great experiment is to be read in Romans vii. Once, says Paul, he had lived the happy careless life of childhood, as if Law did not exist; and there was no sense of division within. But on his awakening soul dawned the sense of a holy, inviolable Law, prescribing to him the way in which alone he must walk to be right with God. His conscience assented to each command; but he also became aware for the first time of a rebellious element of self-indulgent and self-assertive desire within him, crossing and crossed by the Divine Law. At once the former peace of mind was exchanged for

[1] Yet we cannot doubt that it was the legitimate outcome of the Pharisaic doctrine of his day, an echo of which we have also in the *Apoc. of Baruch* (see Charles' edition). The humbler tone of *iv. Ezra* is probably the outcome of the bitter experiences of 70 A. D., which must have done much to take the proud heart out of Pharisaic Judaism.

[2] Thus through the Law Paul died to the Law (as legal principle, in man's perverting consciousness), just as through Logic men die to Logic. Just he who has not been through Logic and learned its limitations, is most likely to be caught in its fallacies—reasoning badly, when he plumes himself on not "reasoning" at all.

internal war, life for a living death. For while "the mind" or inner man sided with the Law, it did so too feebly to hold down the full-blooded desires that knew no allegiance to aught but their own impulses, and so drove him to enmity with the Law of God. Thus he found himself full soon the slave of sin, sighing for some deliverance out of the great contradiction into which the Law had led him. The Law? Yes, the good and holy Law of God was what had evoked a latent force of evil within, by defining certain impulses of his nature as unlawful and by that very definition the more provoking them into a new and sinful energy. Apart from the Law, then, Paul had not known sin, as sin. So that what had been given to lead him to righteousness and life, had in effect plunged him into a miserable sense of sin and death.

The intensity of his experience of Law was certainly due to the serious and inward way in which he took it, and himself in relation to it. He took it to cover the whole man, his inner world of motive as well as his overt acts. Here lay his unique insight, which brought Pharisaic Judaism—the strict working out of the legal principle in the Law—to bankruptcy in the eyes of its most devoted son. "From the day," says Dr. A. B. Bruce, "that the eye of Saul's conscience lighted on the words, 'Thou shalt not *covet*,' his Judaism was doomed. It might last for a while . . . but the heart was taken out of it." The Law, taken seriously, led men not to justification but to an utter sense of need for justification at God's hands and by His provision, "the

righteousness of God." It was as God's answer to this need that Jesus was revealed to Paul on the road to Damascus. With this crisis closed a season of doubt, during which the goad of the divine pressure towards the acceptance of the crucified Messiah had been driving him on to a definite breach with his Pharisaic training. Jesus had died by a death accursed in the eye of the Law. If, after all, salvation lay in Him, then it was by a way independent of this Law. The vision of the Risen One confirmed the witness of the Apostles that God had put His own seal of approval on Jesus as Messiah. Therewith the whole fabric of Jewish legalism, in the interests of which Jesus had been done to death, collapsed as rejected of God; and Paul passed, in the wake of his new Lord, into a new sphere in which the Law in the old sense had no place. And so both his experience of the Law as a code of divine injunctions—unable to inspire and justify, able only to condemn—and the lot of Messiah Himself at the hands of the guardians of the Law as a letter, converged on one point—death by it and so to it. "I through (the) Law died to Law, that I may live unto God. With Christ I have shared crucifixion. Yet I live, no longer (the old) I, but Christ liveth in me." As spiritually identified with Messiah in His life apart from external law, Paul shared the Messianic Righteousness.

Here then, lie the origins of Paulinism, making it, when rightly seen, the most experimental of theologies, because worked out through the blood and tears of the soul's deepest, most humbling self-knowledge. It is an accident, an accident that has tended

to obscure Paulinism to after times, that much of Paul's writing was forced from him in controversy with Pharisaic Judaizers. Hence the theological formulation of his thought is often determined by sharp antithesis to Jewish positions not familiar to the reader, and cast in Rabbinic forms of argument or exposition. But the religious intuitions underlying it all, and often flashing forth in pure, direct, experimental form (as in 2 Cor. v. 14 ff; Rom. vii. 7 ff.—viii. 39, and Gal. ii. 19–21), have spoken to millions of souls with unrivalled power. Through his eyes multitudes have been able to read the dark places of their own nature as never before; "the flesh," "the inner man" of the mind, and "the law (*i. e.* principle) of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus," have become luminous phrases, answering to the deepest realities. But it was not so with many in the Apostolic Age. The older apostles had viewed the Law as did the humble souls who rejoiced therein, whether in Psalm or in Wisdom writing: and from the like class came the bulk of Judæo-Christian converts. The Judaizers viewed the Law in an external sense as a Jewish national privilege, not taking it to heart and being searched by it like their brother Pharisee. Still less able to enter into Paul's experience were the bulk of Hellenists, proselytes, and pure Gentile converts, on whom the Law had not lain as exactingly, in any sense, as on Palestinian Judaism. To them the Law seemed but a helpful restraint and safeguard against the corruption around them, described with such terrible truth in Romans i. 18 ff.—a function of the Law which Paul also recognizes, in comparing it to

the guardian servant who leads the child through the dangers of the street to its true Teacher, even Christ (Gal. iii. 24). Knowing it, then, only in this more superficial fashion, they could not enter into the meaning of Paul's exultant sense of having transcended the Law in coming under the sway of Grace through faith. To them the gospel seemed itself a Law of liberty, *i. e.*, the Divine Law, renovated in Christ by the falling away of its ceremonial and national features. It thus marked the path of moral freedom and the resulting reward promised by God to obedience—a path on which they were set with a new impulse from the forgiveness of past sins, by trust in God's Chosen One, and even in His sacrificial death. Accordingly this average non-Palestinian Christianity conceived the Christian life as "man's own life governed by a divine Law"; whereas to Paul it was "the divine life in man." These contrasts must not be taken too sharply; but they express a real difference of type. And it was Paul's deep sense of sin in the flesh (the natural, animal or egoistic man) that made him more alive to the divine initiative of the Spirit needful to the emancipation of the inner man (the higher nature sensitive to the Divine). Christian life to him, then, was the fruitage of the divine life in man, inspired by the Spirit and "worked out" or actualized by human receptivity. The obedience was vital rather than legal in any sense.

This deep anti-legalism was not grasped by the later Apostolic Age. By certain gnostics Paul's boldest phrases were wrested from their context and

spirit, probably *bona fide* and owing to a different training and use of words. By men whose general good sense and practical instinct kept them from this, especially where familiar with other types of teaching—that is by men of the Clement type—this danger was avoided. But they saw even less into Paulinism: they did not feel its distinctive genius. On the whole, then, while some of Paul's fellow-apostles —Peter, the author of *Hebrews*, John—grafted certain of his ideas upon their own distinctive apprehensions of the gospel, the Pauline experience as to the Law and the work of Christ in relation thereto remained peculiar to himself. His deep sense of mystical union with Christ in the Spirit, through faith, they shared: and through their united labors the deeper spirits of the second generation shared it too in their measure. But while in Clement there lives the spirit, as well as the letter, of *Hebrews* and of Peter; in Ignatius, the Johannine; in Polycarp, both the Petrine and the Johannine after a naïve and simple sort; in none of the so-called Apostolic Fathers do we get the real Pauline ring—unless it be in the beautiful Epistle to Diognetus from an unknown pen about 140 A. D. But not even there is it full. It was reserved for the contemporary Marcion of Pontus, to respond to the Pauline experience of redemption *from* the legal *into* an utterly new and evangelic spirit: and he misunderstood it. For he pressed the moral dualism of Law and Grace into the metaphysical sphere, and severed the God of the Old Dispensation from the Fatherly God of the New, in a way quite alien to St. Paul. Thus

Marcion and his interpretation were alike discredited: and Paul remained for two centuries and more in high honor indeed, but understood only in fragments and mostly from the outside. Then in Augustine's soul the Pauline experience came to life again; his thought was grasped from within, and through his great interpreter he became in part available for Christians at large. But with grave distortions. And when, a second time, Paul's spirit rose in the soul of the Augustinian monk Luther, it was still too much mingled with Augustine's interpretation of him.

Thus it is with the rise in our own century of a biblical theology, on purely historical lines and with the sole object of interpreting the Apostle's soul, that the first complete appreciation of Paulinism as such has been consciously attempted, and with large success. Each of the other New Testament types is receiving like attention; and some of the results are indicated in the pages devoted to James, Peter, *Hebrews*, John. But the important thing is to notice that the effort is largely a new one: that the Apostolic Fathers, and so the development of ecclesiastical orthodoxy, did not really start from full insight into the teaching of all or any one of the apostolic types of piety or doctrine. They started rather from a sort of average Christian piety and doctrine, the product of the Gospel in minds trained for the most part on Græco-Roman notions of religion, yet influenced also by the Hellenistic propaganda in the wake of which the preachers of the Apostolic Age did the bulk of their evangelization. This being so,

it is a grave error to assume anything like full or adequate doctrinal continuity between the Apostolic Age and that which came after. The exact degree of continuity between them has rather to be ascertained by far more rigorous investigation than has yet been applied to the problem. But in any case the distinctive features of the Apostolic Age must ever claim special attention: and these it has been our endeavour faithfully to set forth.

Literary Appendix.

ACTS.

WHILE it is admitted that Luke and Acts are from the same pen, the linguistic similarity betweeen Luke and the "We" sections of Acts (xvi. 10–17, xx. 5–15, xxi. 1–18, xxvii. 1–xxviii. 16, together with much else in xx.–xxviii. 16, closely bound up with the sections couched in the first person plural) is particularly striking. This has been worked out by Rev. Sir J. C. Hawkins (*Horæ Synopticæ*, 140 ff.), who calls attention to the words and phrases common to the two as compared even with the rest of Acts. Assuming, then, that the writer did not disingenuously seek "to pass for one of Paul's companions," we are shut up to one of two alternatives. The author of Acts, being one of Paul's party on the occasions covered by the "We" passages,[1] either used an earlier "travel-document" or simply fell into the first person when freely narrating the movements of a party to which he had belonged. In either case his testimony is that of an

[1] The view that he did not profess this, but clumsily preserved the "We" of another's narrative, is now generally and rightly discredited in relation to a writer like "Luke."

eyewitness. And one may suggest that he was not unconscious of the evidential value of the change of form, especially in the eyes of the noble "Theophilus" whom he was anxious fully to satisfy of the facts he narrates (Luke i. 1–4).

But similar linguistic analysis of other parts of Acts shows such deviations from the average Lucan style (judged by aid of the gospel also), as to point to the use of written sources by the author. This is what Luke i. 1 ff. warns us to expect, and what internal evidence supports in the case of the gospel. As we can trace in it a "special source" (most evident in ix. 51–xviii. 14) of a Judæo-Christian type, in sympathy with the piety that breathes in i.–ii. (which perhaps belonged to it), so probably is it with Acts. Our best index too of the way in which Luke has treated his sources in Acts is afforded by the manner in which he has modified Mark's narrative in working it into his gospel. That is, a large part of a source's language,[1] and even something of its style, is allowed to stand, wherever it does not offend Luke's more exacting taste or need either epitomizing or explanatory amplification in the interests of the scope or readers of his work.

But if a documentary basis is manifest in the Judæo-Christian tinge of the first half of Acts (i.–xii.), it underlies far more—most in fact of all prior to the first "We" passage (xvi. 10 ff.), and a good

[1] A notable instance, running through both gospel and Acts, is the occurrence of the Hellenistic form for Jerusalem (Ἱερουσαλήμ) side by side with the common Greek form ([τὰ] Ἱεροσόλυμα), Luke's own word in free narrative.

deal of what lies in between the "We" passages as a series. Indeed the way in which various theological types shine through the narrative in Acts, points to the use of several written sources. John Mark, Philip, Titus and Silas (for xi. 19–30, xiii.–xv., and parts of xvi.–xx. 4), occur to mind as possible authors. So that Acts represents the coördination of the earlier knowledge of the Apostolic Age in the mind of a typical Gentile convert of the Pauline mission. He makes no use of the Pauline Epistles, but draws such knowledge of the Pauline Gospel as he has from actual intercourse with the Apostle and his helpers. These facts, together with the distinct portraiture of personalities of different types, and a sense of movements which became shadowy even before 70 A. D., converge on Luke and on a date about 75–80. Comparison of its opening account of the Risen Christ with the end of Luke's gospel prevents us from making Acts follow very close on the gospel. On the other hand, its tone suggests that Rome is only just beginning a new policy towards the Church, and that tendencies to internal disunion in local Churches had not yet caused much development beyond the primitive leadership of elders.

The Pastorals.

As regards the difficulty of finding room for these letters in Paul's known career, it is hoped that our text furnishes a fair working hypothesis. There remain two main types of difficulty. The first lies in the ecclesiastical conditions implied. It is shown,

however, in our chapter on Organization that these are not really so developed as is often assumed, but merely imply a time when direct Apostolic oversight could no longer be counted on. The second class consists of difficulties which "lie in the field of language and of ideas as embodied in language." How are we to explain the broad differences of style and vocabulary between this and any other group of Pauline Epistles? How, too, account for their different religious and theological emphasis, the indistinct Paulinism of their thought?

As regards the problem of the style and language, its edge is already turned by the large differences among the confessedly Pauline letters. Obviously we have to deal with a writer many-sided and versatile in expression, adjusting himself readily to new readers and new themes. He who gives up the case against *Colossians*, already admits principles which will carry him far when he comes to the Pastorals. And the more closely these epistles are analysed, the more one finds an underlying element of identity in the average texture of these, as of all Pauline epistles. But this is just what one trying to write as in Paul's person at a later date would not think of copying, and would least succeed in, were he to essay the task. Still the degree of idiosyncrasy about this group still needs explanation. Here one passes from the mere form to the contents. It is not enough to fall back on "different amanuenses" to explain such large contrasts in Paul's correspondence. He is too much himself on every occasion to justify so radical an

application of what may be used modestly as a cause of variation, when all else has been taken into account. Besides, these epistles being addressed to intimate associates, would not be left to be moulded by the habits of an amanuensis. But this very consideration, namely the special type of correspondence involved, casts its own light on the problem. We have hitherto had nothing like them in conditions. They are bound to have some peculiar features in thought as in style; for they grapple with new problems and are meant to be read, not to a popular audience, but by friends who will not stumble at abruptness of style or at technical terms. Similarly the use of terse maxims, introduced with a formula like "Faithful is the saying," is quite what one expects in a letter of counsel to an intimate. And the like reflection explains why Paul here, in contrast to his other letters, does "not so much argue as denounce." Timothy and Titus did not need to be convinced of Paulinism as such, but only confirmed in their work of convincing others of it, by its author's solemn reiteration of its divine origin and its continued fitness amid new ideas and conditions. Technical terms would naturally be used in the inner circle in frequent conference on current developments, but only gradually begin to color written addresses to churches. So, as to the absence of "distinctively Pauline thought," one must remember that these epistles are meant simply to remind helpers of those aspects of his teaching which were the truths for the hour. So viewed, many phrases which hardly strike the reader's attention contain allusively

a whole world of Pauline thought. There is much justice in an observation of Ramsay's: "The difference in tone and spirit of the Pastoral from the rest of the Pauline Epistles, is greatly due to the fact that the former are mainly concerned with the practical steps in an early congregation [on the threshold of an era of full adaptation to existing conditions], while the latter rather exhibit the ideal to be striven after." Hence a certain lapse into prose.

It may be said that this does not carry us all the way; that in fact we must assume liberal interpolation or reëditing of genuine Pauline letters. The possibility is a real one with letters so inorganic as those made up of counsels and exhortations. Such may easily grow by an almost insensible process of accretion. The only question is, whether any theory of large interpolation works out well in detail. To this the answer must be in the negative; while the motives assigned for the manufacture of the personal notices found in all three epistles are quite arbitrary. To recognize, as many critics do, certain clearly Pauline passages (such as 1 Tim. i. 12–17; Titus iii. 12 ff.; 2 Tim. i. 3–12, 15–18, ii. 1, 3–10, iii. 10–12, iv. 5 ff., to name only some of the clearest), is already a mark of return to sounder critical method. But reconstruction can hardly stop at that point, and must beware of a too rigid notion of Paulinism. In fact, no satisfactory motives can be assigned for most of the supposed secondary matter; if a second century interpolator has here been at work, he has not been nearly thorough-

going enough for his purpose.[1] The "sound doctrine" emphasized is the morally wholesome rather than the orthodox; while nothing so forces even the freest faith to define its relation to the historic basis on which it has all along rested, as persistent denials or aberrations. The words, "I have kept the faith," in a highly Pauline passage (2 Tim. iv. 7), must be reckoned with.

It is from the purely personal and historical touches that my own construction has been built up. I hold that, in any case, a *large* Pauline basis *at least* underlies each of the Pastorals, including all the personal matter; that the attitude towards the Roman State (*e. g.*, in 1 Tim. ii. 1 ff.) is incompatible with the period between 64 and the death of Domitian in 96; and that a date later than 100 A. D. is impossible for the great bulk of letters that show no trace of monarchical episcopate, which in the province of Asia began to take distinct form by the first decade of the second century. So far, criticism has been too much the slave of fixed ideas, and of conventional notions of *gnosis* and episcopacy derived from the second century and later, to see the facts of the Pastorals quite steadily as a whole.

The Didaché.

The origins of our *Didaché* seem to be as follows:

1. A primitive Judæo-Christian *Two Ways* = *Did.* i.–vi., save i. 3, l. 2–ii. 1. Perhaps too, the last

[1] See Zahn's remarks in his *Einleitung*, § 37, summarized in *American Journal of Theology*, ii. 667 ff.

clause of v. 2 is a tag due to the later "Apostolic" recension; since "May ye, children," etc., is the solitary plural address in the "Two Ways" and is absent from *Barnabas*. Even in this form the work probably arose in Greek (cf. the technical terms ii. 4, iii. 4, *e. g.*, περικαθαίρων): and its date may fall about 50 A. D. (if vi. 2, 3 is original, cf. Acts xv. 19 f.). As to locality, two opinions are held, according as one attends most to its inclusion in our *Didaché*, which is Syrian, or to its widespread use in Egyptian documents like the *Eccles. Canons* and the Life of Schnudi (fifth century). As these latter, as well as *Barnabas* and the Latin Fragment, ignore i. 3, l. 2–ii. 1, we may suppose that the *Two Ways* was in currency some time before this section was added: see below.

2. The second stage is marked by the casting of the manual into the second person plural. This meant changing it from a description of the "Two Ways," put in the concrete personal form "Thou shalt" (addressed to an ideal pupil, "my child," after the manner of the Wisdom literature), into an actual exhortation to Christians in general. The change first appears towards the end of the original "Two Ways" (v. 2), in the words, "May you, children, be delivered from all these things;" and continues throughout *Did.* vii.–xvi. As to the date of this enlarged edition, now perhaps set forth as "Teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles" (cf. 2 Pet. iii. 2), we seem to have documentary proof[1] dating from at least as early as 68 A. D. (pos-

[1] The Christian section of the *Ascensio Isaiæ* (iii. 21), discussed further on.

sibly 65-66), that by this time the notion of "the teaching of the Twelve Apostles" as standard Christian doctrine was prevalent. Moreover, the strong polemic of the *Ascension of Isaiah* against spiritual degeneracy among the leaders in particular, owing to impure motives such as love of money, pride, and consequent jealousy and rivalry (see p. 522), points to a state of things just beginning to be felt when the second part of our *Didaché* took shape. That there is nothing in the doctrine of even *Did.* vii.–xvi. alien to a date as early as c. 65 A. D., has been shown by our exposition in the text. That *Barnabas* affords only one echo of it (viz. iv. 9, of *Did.* xvi. 2), simply means that it was not to his purpose, and not wholly to his mind. *Did.* vii.–xvi., then, was probably added a few years before 70 A. D.

3. We have yet to deal with i. 3, l. 2–ii. 1; and can here only say summarily that it seems the result of three sets of minor additions, adjusting the statement of the Law of Neighborly Duty to a growing moral sense. All of them ((i.) i. 4–5, l. 3^a [?+ vi. 2, 3]: (ii.) i. 3: (iii.) i. 5, l. 3^b–ii. 1) may be placed after *Barnabas* (*i. e.*, after 71 A. D.), the earliest not long after. For the phenomena of evangelic quotation in them point to the use of a body of *Logia* (oral or written) differing in text from both Matthew and Luke, but nearer to the latter. This fact would also make us regard additions (i.) and (ii.) as almost contemporary.

Conspectus of results:

(1) *Two Ways* [c. 50 A. D.]=*Did.* i. 1–3, l. 1, ii. 2–vi. (? vi. 1).

(2) *Διδαχὴ κυρίου διὰ τῶν ιβ ἀποστόλων* [c. 65-70 A.D.] =*Two Ways*+*Did.* vii.–xvi.

(3) The *Didaché* c. 72–80 (90)=Our *Didaché*, with the present fuller title.

In support of the early date here assigned to the completed work, one may note that Funk and Lightfoot agree upon the last quarter of the century. To the features relied on by the latter (*Philippians*, 1890, p. 349 f.)—the Eucharistic simplicity, "the temporary and the permanent ministry working side by side," the absence of trace of the episcopal office as distinct from the presbyteral—I would add the absence of clear differentiation between "bishops and deacons," of any trace of persecution, of any theological tendency or polemic. This is the more notable in view of the impulse to bring the manual up to date, visible in chapter i.

2. *Peter.*

As regards the relation of this epistle to *Jude*, its dependence seems almost certain. On the other hand, there is much in chapter i. and the latter part of chapter iii. which sounds truly Petrine.[1] Thus the case on either side—for total denial and total assertion of Peter's authorship—ceases to convince just when it

[1] "*Symeon* Peter, a *servant* and apostle of Jesus [Christ]," is an opening unlikely to come from any save Peter himself (contrast 1 Pet. i. 1, and see Acts xv. 14). And yet this seems the true text (B and some cursives have the commoner *Simon*). Observe too the familiar way in which the writer associates himself with his readers by the use of "us" and "our" in i. 1–4, (contrast the absence of "our" before "Lord" in ii. 20, iii. 2): while in i. 16–18 the plural seems that of collective Apostolic witness.

begins to apply to the whole epistle the view based on the part on which it lays stress. This suggests that each may be right within its own limits, but wrong beyond. And it must be allowed that, if one omits ii. 1—iii. 7 (13),[1] the rest reads quite consecutively; while most objections to its Petrine origin fall away.

The omission certainly tends to unify the thought. For chapter i. has in view simply doubts created by the unexpected delay of the Parousia, such as would arise with the deaths of several Apostolic witnesses (*e. g.*, James and Paul): and this is the line of thought continued in iii. 8 (14) ff. Chapter ii., on the other hand, plunges at once into the immorality of certain "false teachers," without any reference to the Parousia at all. It is true that in iii. 3 f. this motive is introduced: but there, in contrast to chapter i., a date later than Peter's own life is suggested by the allusion to "the fathers" as long fallen asleep. Nor does ii. 1.–iii. 7 connect itself other than quite loosely with the end of chapter i., going off from true to false prophets and changing the subject.

Perhaps, then, chapter ii. was added (in the usual "apocalyptic future") by another hand, adapting Jude's message to the growing needs of the churches, probably in North Syria. This was occasioned, partly by Peter's expressed intention of reminding them, *from time to time*, of the truth for the

[1] If, as is quite possible, an original Petrine letter has not only received one large addition, but has been worked over and adjusted throughout to new needs, then perhaps all or part of iii. 8–13 is from the later hand (to which also the expansion of i. 12 in 13–15 may be due).

hour (i. 12 ff.); and partly by Jude's reference to Apostolic teaching as the basis of his own reminder as to Christian duty. Thus iii. 1–4 seems to combine i. 12–15 and Jude 17 f.; while the late date of the whole added section (ii. 1–iii. 7) is proved by the scoffers' reference to the Fathers of the Christian Churches as already some time dead, language inappropriate to any period before 70 A. D. at earliest. On the other hand, granting that all save ii. 1–iii. 7 is Peter's own, its contrast to 1 Peter—apologizing for delay, while the latter boldly says the End is already imminent—implies its priority to 1 Peter. What lies in between would seem to be Peter's Roman experience of the infatuate conduct of Nero, the world's master.

Hence, dating 1 Peter about 63 (late)–64 (early), we may put the genuine 2 Peter (i. + iii. 8 (14)—end) c. 62–63, *i. e.*, just before Peter left North Syria or soon after he reached Rome. *Jude* would come some years later, while his brother's name was yet potent among the Syrian Diaspora (v. 1), say a few years before or after 70. The apocalyptic section (ii. 1–iii. 7 [13]) may come a good deal later. Nor is the reference in iii. 15 f., to the writings of "our beloved brother Paul," so adverse to Petrine authorship as is often supposed. By implication, and so only, Paul's epistles are classed with "scriptures" in a general sense as sacred writings, much as *Jude* treats certain non-canonical works as authoritative. It only remains to add that the linguistic affinity which certainly exists between ii. 1–iii. 7 and the rest of 2 Peter, is not sufficient to refute the theory here sug-

gested. For the later writer would naturally be a diligent student of an epistle on which he engrafted amplifying additions. Should this theory ultimately prove untenable, the only alternative must surely be that the whole epistle is based on *Jude* by a Christian of the sub-Apostolic rather than the Apostolic Age.

The Epistle of Barnabas.

The best reckoning of the ten emperors of Barnabas iv. 4, and of the little king arising as a side-growth to humble at one stroke three of the kings (horns of the Beast), is Ramsay's modification of Weizsäcker's and Lightfoot's views. The latter agree in enumerating the ten Cæsars in their natural sequence (from Julius), and arrive at Vespasian as the tenth. Ramsay observes that under Vespasian, who claimed to avenge and follow Galba, few would regard Otho and Vitellius other than as mere usurpers. Omitting them, he sees in Vespasian and his sons, Titus and Domitian, the "three kings" to be humbled by antichrist, *Nero redivivus*. This is better than Lightfoot's view, which has to fuse the three Flavii into one sovereign, viz, Vespasian as tenth emperor. But in any case the era 70–79 A. D., as that in which *Barnabas* was written, seems now finally assured.

The Ascension of Isaiah, iii. 13–iv. 21.

The *Ascension of Isaiah* being but little known, the pertinent part may be quoted at length.[1] After

[1] After Dillmann's Latin version of the Ethiopic, in which alone this section survives. The original Greek of the whole work is at present lost.

a description of the first coming of Messiah (here called "Beloved"), His resurrection, and the sending forth of His twelve disciples, we read that

"Many who shall believe on Him shall speak in the Holy Spirit, and many signs and wonders shall be done in those days. And then, on the eve of His approach (*i. e.*, Second Advent), His disciples shall let go the teaching of the Twelve Apostles, and their faith and love and holiness; and there shall be much contention touching His Advent and touching His nearness. And in those days there shall be many lovers of gifts, though devoid of wisdom; and there shall be many elders doing unjustly and shepherds oppressors of their sheep; and in their folly they shall rend the holy flock. . . . And there shall be many backbiters, and vainglory, on the eve of the Lord's approach; and the Holy Spirit shall withdraw from many. Nor shall there be in those days many prophets nor such as shall speak things that stand sure, save one here and another there, by reason of the Spirit of error and fornication and vainglory and love of money, which shall be in those styled His servants and in those who shall receive Him. And there shall be among them great hatred, in pastors and in elders mutually. For great ill-will shall exist in the last days."

Then intervenes a sentence or two imperfectly preserved[1] but pointing to approaching crisis, which is described as follows:

"And after it hath come about, there shall descend Berial, the great Angel, King of this world,[2] over which he hath rule since its origin; and he shall descend from his own firmament[3]

[1] In one MS. we get traces of "men (shall scoff at a near end) of the world and shall speak vanity;" so reminding of Jude's scoffers in the last time (v. 18).

[2] Comp. 2 Cor. iv. 4, John xiv. 30, for this conception of Satan.

[3] It was generally believed, in keeping with the current astronomical doctrine of seven concentric circles or firmaments about the earth as centre, that each firmament had its own special denizens, Satan's being the second or fifth (cf. Rev. xii. 7 f.; Luke x. 18).

in the semblance of a man, an unrighteous king, a matricide (Nero), who himself, even this king,[1] shall persecute the plant which the Twelve Apostles of the Beloved shall plant, and of the Twelve (one) shall be delivered into his hands (*i.e.*, Peter). This angel Berial shall come in the semblance of that king, and there shall come with him all the forces of this world and shall obey him in all that he shall will. And at his word the sun shall rise by night,[2] and the moon also he shall cause to appear at noontide; and all that he willeth shall he do in the world. He shall act and speak like Beloved, and shall say,[3] 'I am God and before me was not any.' And all men in the world shall believe on him, and shall sacrifice to him and serve him, saying, 'This is God and beside him is no other.' And a very large part of those who were banded together to receive Beloved (on his Return) shall he turn away after himself. And there shall be power of working his marvels[4] in various cities and districts: and he shall set up his own image before his face in all cities (cf. Rev. xiii. 14 f.). And he shall rule three years and seven months and twenty-seven days. And as for the many believers and saints . . . of them few shall be left in those days as His servants, fleeing from solitude to solitude, in expectation of His Advent. And after 1,332 days the Lord shall come with His angels and with the forces of the Saints from the seventh heaven, with the glory of the seventh heaven, and shall commit Berial to Gehenna, and likewise his forces."

Then follows an account of the reward of the faithful and the end of the world, cited above (p. 341).

[1] The publication of a fragment of the original Greek in *The Amherst Papyri*, Part I. (edited by Grenfell & Hunt), shows that the Nero of history is described only as the type of man in whom Berial should appear as Antichrist *(Nero redivivus)*. Prof. Charles argues that this particular representation cannot be earlier than 88 A.D.

[2] This typical marvel is given, in the Pseudo-Philonean *Book of Biblical Antiquities* (end of first century), as the means by which a Midianite priest and magician beguiled Israel into idolatry.

[3] Comp. 2 Thess. ii. 4; Rev. xiii. 5; and for the effect 2 Thess. ii. 3; Rev. xiii. 4, 8, 12.

[4] Comp. 2 Thess. ii. 9; Rev. xiii. 14, xix. 20; Matt. xxiv. 24.

As to the period of Antichrist's reign, it is no doubt related to the conventional reckoning of the final distress, and may originally have corresponded more exactly to that in Dan. xii. 7, 11 f. But the eccentric period found in the text seems to refer to the actual space between the Neronian martyrdoms in the autumn of 64 (apparently Oct. 13th, Nero's Accession day) and Nero's death on June 9th, 68 A. D. If this be so, the modification of the original figures can only have taken place immediately after Nero's death; for the prediction would soon be seen to have falsified itself. Perhaps the reading of two manuscripts, 3,032 days, may be a final effort to save the credit of the prophecy. A date prior to 70 A. D. would well accord with (1) its strong Judæo-Christian tinge—whether in its Christology and the primitive account of Beloved's earthly life, in certain of its subordinate conceptions, or finally in its speaking of "the Twelve," without a hint of Paul's activity; (2) the absence of any hint of retribution on "the sons of Israel" for slaying Beloved, such as that visible in the events of 70 A. D. We may, then, assign the section to about 64–68, and preferably to 65–66.

The Fourth Gospel.

The fourth gospel does not aim at tracing the actual course of the Saviour's earthly life. Rather it sets forth the great moral factors making for belief or unbelief in the drama of salvation through the manifested Life, Light, or Truth of God. Certain typical cases from Messiah's earthly life are given;

and these stand out with the vivid clearness characteristic of early memories in one now aged. But it is on their representative significance that the emphasis falls. This is just what Clement of Alexandria[1] states as having reached him from "the elders of earlier days," namely that "John, last of all, being conscious that the external (*lit.* 'bodily') facts had been made plain in the (other) gospels, at the solicitation of his familiar friends composed a spiritual gospel under the Spirit's inspiration." Its actual relation to the Synoptic type of narrative yet further confirms the view we have taken. For it is boldly independent and at the same time supplemental in matters of fact. This comes out most strongly in the Judæan ministry, on which the Synoptists are silent but which they really imply, notably in the words, "Oh, Jerusalem . . . how often would I have gathered thy children . . . but ye would not" (Matt. xxiii. 37). But such innovation on the long-rooted Synoptic account—and there are other and harder cases[2]—could have gained acceptance only on the highest authority, that of a surviving Apostle of supreme influence. John's position at Ephesus in the closing decade of the first century, and this alone, seems to clear up the innumerable problems of the fourth gospel. Once one realizes the process of "translation," as it has been called,[3] that would naturally go on in

[1] In Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.*, vi. 14 : cf. the Muratorian Canon.

[2] *E. g.*, the first call of Andrew, John, and Peter, and the character and date of the Last Supper.

[3] In Dr. Watkins' *Modern Criticism and the Fourth Gospel*, 426 ff., where this point is excellently worked out.

John's mind, as he strove during some twenty years to interpret to the Greek mind the witness which first came to him in Hebraic forms of speech and thought, one can see how the gospel reached its present form in the history of a single life.

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